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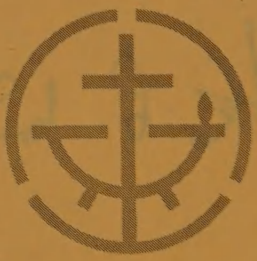
PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

FITZGERALD S. PARKER



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THE PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

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THE PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

A Study of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Worship Practices with Especial Reference to the Origin and Development of the Worship Service of Episcopal Methodism

BY
FITZGERALD SALE PARKER, D.D.
Editor of the *Epworth Era*

"O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness:
fear before him, all the earth."

THE QUILLIAN LECTURES FOR 1929
Delivered at Emory University

COKESBURY PRESS
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1929

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To Commemorate

THE HONORABLE ASA G. CANDLER

WHOSE MUNIFICENCE
IN ENDOWING A GREAT UNIVERSITY
HAD ITS PARALLEL IN HIS
SELF-DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF
CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

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THE QUILLIAN LECTURES

In 1897 Rev. W. F. Quillian, of the North Georgia Conference, donated an amount subsequently increased by himself and his nephew, Mr. Marvin C. Quillian, to $1,000 for the purpose of founding a lectureship on a subject "within the range of apologetical, doctrinal, exegetical, pastoral, or historical theology." The lectures shall be delivered by a minister of one of the Methodist Episcopal Churches in the United States, or by a Methodist from any other country, before the faculty and students of Emory College, "when the endowment by interest and gifts shall amount to $3,000." By special arrangement the income from the endowment was supplemented and the first course of lectures was delivered in 1898. The fund was completed in the fall of 1902, and the second series of lectures was delivered the following year.

PREFACE

THE lectures that follow are the product of an earnest effort to give a conspectus of the worship practices of the Christian Church and of the Jewish institution out of which the Church arose through the revelation and atoning work of our Lord. They do not lay claim to making an original contribution to the topics of the several lectures, but I trust they may not be without value for students as showing the historical course of the parallel streams of Sacrifice and Prayer, and their beautiful and significant issue in the worship of the Church, by which our own spiritual experience is enriched. I desire chiefly, however, that by these lectures some inspiration may be afforded those upon whom rests the responsibility of leading congregations in public worship; and that thereby the enjoyment of Christians in the use of this means of grace may be made both deeper and more definite. I trust also that the study of worship and, above all, the practice of worship may become an aid toward the unity of the Body of Christ among Christians of differing and divisive theological opinions.

Many of the numerous books that issue from the press upon the subject of Worship are concerned with practical directions for the conduct of public worship. In view of this supply, I feel free to treat

the subject from another point of view, trusting rather to stimulate ministers and lay Churchmen to a just appreciation of the Christian's privilege of communion and fellowship.

The printed page preserves the original form of preparation for oral delivery. I am indebted to many books that cannot be referred to in the footnotes, by means of which I have acknowledged my indebtedness to others. Quotations from the Bible are in the superior translation of the American Revised version (Thomas Nelson & Sons). From the text of "The Songs, Hymns, and Prayers of the Old Testament," by Charles Foster Kent (Scribners), I have made two important quotations. To my friend Dr. W. P. King, editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, I am indebted for the suggestion of the form of title chosen; to Mr. Curtis B. Haley, Assistant to the Book Editor, for typographical suggestions and careful correction of proof, as well of matter as of form. The Cokesbury Press has achieved a record-breaking piece of manufacture in making available the completed book within a month of the time when the "copy" was placed in their hands.

FITZGERALD SALE PARKER.

NASHVILLE, TENN.,
March 24, 1929.

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LECTURE I

THE SCOPE OF THE DISCUSSION

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THE SCOPE OF THE DISCUSSION

LIVING contemporaneously upon the earth have been peoples in every stage of social and institutional development. Much of their various modes of life and of their institutions has been observed and handed down by early historians, and even to-day, synchronizing with our own advanced civilization, there are to be found savage tribes that have not risen to that stage of development in which people possess domestic animals, permanent abodes, or more than the most rudimentary political organization. But the tribe or people has never been known among whom all expression of relationship to a higher, unseen power was lacking. "There has never existed a nation of atheists. The atheist is exceptional."[1] This universal phenomenon may be conceived as religion, however crude and grossly superstitious. Religion varies in the proportion of the elements of which it is composed, but is never wholly lacking in intellectual or creedal, ethical or moral and emotional, or sensuous constituents. Beliefs that are taken to correspond with the realities of the unseen and but dimly perceived power that affects all life; actions that are supposed to be required by that power and have therefore gained the force of custom; and attitudes that are expressive of

the feelings that are collateral with these beliefs and practices, correspond with the philosophical trichotomy, Truth, Goodness, and Beauty, and in large areas of life and religion the greatest of these is Beauty. These beliefs, practices, and feelings which, when related to that which is conceived as God, we call religion, with an inclusive significance, when expressed toward God we call worship, and at this point religion is recognized more especially in the field of feeling and becomes both expressive and impressive principally through ritual and art. Building, symbolism, and ritual are the chief means by which religion becomes articulate. The varieties of modes of worship are many, as of beliefs and social practices that are rooted in religion; but all have the common characteristic of a purpose of direct appeal to God and of expression of relationship to God and of duty toward God.

We may rightly speak of the worship impulse; for it seems to anticipate all reasoned justification even as a child feels and expresses a biological and social relationship to its parent earlier than it can rationalize that relationship; even as the earliest tribal consciousness of primitive peoples long anticipates the capacity for perceiving the social value of the earliest form of political organization. Some consciousness of relationship to God is as elemental as the earliest social consciousness, and this consciousness comes to expression as an impulse. We may find in this very elemental characteristic of religion,

with its social collaterals, the basis of the social character of worship in its earliest forms. Individualistic religion arises late, but communal religion must be studied in its worship forms, for these alone are accessible to us and these alone carry the great world testimony to the essential religiousness of man and by implication to the reality of God. It may be seen in tribal reverence and protective care of the totem animal and its rudely carved effigy; in the meditative asceticism of the Hindu fakir; in the sacrificial feast of the ancient Semite or in the various elaborations of the Christian Communion; but in all it is first impulsive and inevitable, however rationalized in later developments. Religion is never without worship. Back of all worship is religion, the cause of worship. As vitality expresses its nature in the phenomena of life, so religion expresses its character in the ritual and practices and experience of worship.

> "Out from the heart of nature rolled
> The burdens of the Bible old;
> The litanies of nations came,
> Like the volcano's tongue of flame,
> Up from the burning core below—
> The canticles of love and woe." [2]

It will not be possible for me to go far afield in the study of various types of ethnic religions and their rites. Christian religious worship is the theme of these lectures, and only so far as I conceive earlier and collateral beliefs and rites to have entered into

Christian worship do these find a place in my plan. I purpose to ask your sympathetic attention for a study of Christian worship. And even within this definition we shall have to select a few things out of a vast field.

I invite your attention to a preliminary essay upon the scope of any study of worship. The collaterals are numerous and important. We shall not follow them, for our limits do not admit of such discursiveness; but they contribute a criterion of value for even our limited discussion.

1. Some consideration of theology is inseparable from the study of worship, because the content of religion is intellectually defined, even as it is ritualistically expressed. But practice does not develop evenly with the advance of thought. Frequently a rite persists the meaning of which has been lost in antiquity and for the explanation of which a myth has been invented. Or sometimes a ritual survives a theological denial of the belief upon which it was based. For example, in the Roman Mass the priest speaks of the sacrifice that he is offering upon the altar in these words of exhortation to the congregation: "Pray, my brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father Almighty." The original conception of the congregation-priesthood has been superseded by a rigid sacerdotalism; but it has not wholly disappeared from the rite. On the other hand, an apparently obvious meaning of a rite may have been super-

seded by a new one, as in the ascription of regenerative virtue to the baptismal waters, which seem originally to have symbolized formal purification as by the analogy of the bath.

Nevertheless, whether slowly or rapidly, theology is shaping both the forms and content of worship in the churches, sometimes violently in reaction from false conceptions, as in the formless worship of the Friends, sometimes merely as protest. The standing posture in prayer, for example, in the Presbyterian and Independent Churches, though rationalized and vigorously defended upon Scriptural grounds, is probably a protest against the false views of prayer that ran parallel with pre-Reformation church worship in the kneeling posture.[3] The removal of the communion table from the chancel apse to the body of the church by the English Reformers of the sixteenth century was designed as a declaration that the Communion is a family feast of memorial character, not a sacrifice, and therefore the table is not an altar.

Where the doctrine of justification by faith is heartily accepted it will naturally discredit mere ritual and mediating priestly rites and will effect the simplification of the forms of worship, and liturgy will give place to extemporary prayer as the child's way of direct access to the forgiving and reconciled Father. To such Protestant belief the shrine in which the Host is reserved and reverenced and carried about in procession for the adoration of the

people becomes but the temple of an idol or, at best, the shadow of reality to one who is conscious of the indwelling of Christ through the Spirit.

To men who are themselves, through election and grace, a royal priesthood, ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices to him who doth prefer "before all temples the upright heart and pure," the pomp of priestly ministries cannot appear as anything less than an affront and usurpation.

2. Worship presents also a more or less constant variation with social, political, and æsthetic developments. For example, the ancient Irish Church of Padrick and Columba was a commune. The people worshiped in rude buildings in the midst of the habitations of the segregated community, and the forms and accessories of worship were wholly wanting in the impressiveness and artistic appeal of the contemporary churches of Gaul, which were inheritors of the more ancient culture of imperial Rome and the Catholic Church. Primitive Methodism followed the pioneer into the forest and the clearing and found the log meetinghouse a congenial temple, while in the mother country and in the New England of the Atlantic seaboard the spiritual children of Wesley worshiped in comely and dignified churches, and for a time, according to the liturgical forms of the Church of England as set forth in Wesley's recension of the Book of Common Prayer. The radical changes that were introduced into Methodist worship in the memorable year 1792 did

not register any theological change whatever, but arose out of conditions of life and answered to the demands of a strenuous program of evangelism. If we can conceive of the Wesleyan Sunday Service and other offices as being handed down to Episcopal Methodism to-day as the authoritative order of worship, we cannot conceive of its now suffering the mutilations that have resulted in the utterly illogical order of worship that is vainly relied upon to secure "uniformity of worship" in the congregations. In fact, we should probably be sedulously guarding it from hasty and crude changes, by which we should be depriving our Church of her rightful heritage of the English practices of worship.

3. We have observed that there is a more or less tardy variation by which the worship practices of a people or an institution tend to conform with their theological beliefs. This is more constant in Christianity and in more modern types of religion than in the religion of ancient Judaism, the immediate predecessor of Christian worship. While in religion our emotional reactions are chiefly responses to the processes of worship, we no doubt think of religion rather from the standpoint of belief than ritual, exactly the opposite to primitive religion. This principle tends to become more dominant with the growth of individualism in philosophy and the advance of general education and intellectual cultivation. "Ancient religions had, for the most part, little or no creed; they consisted almost entirely in

institutions and practices. While the practice was rigidly fixed, the meaning was vague. . . . Rite connected not with a dogma, but a myth. To fulfill a rite, not to believe any particular thing about it, was the requirement of ancient Semitic religion." The skepticism of the book of Ecclesiastes is of the value of speculations upon the nature of God and man: the whole field of theology. The sum of the matter is to "fear God and keep his commandments." New Testament history acquaints us with the amazing development of a dominant group in the hierarchical organization of the Jewish institution who were materialistc in belief, and yet careful to fulfill the ceremonial of the Temple. There are examples also among the most intellectual of to-day. The late Professor Huxley, inventor of the term "agnostic," which admirably described his philosophy, was ever a lover of the worship of the English Church, and his great cotemporary, Herbert Spencer, was a Puritan in morals. Ritual affords us one of the best points of view from which to approach the historical development of religion, especially in its earlier forms. This is especially true of the Old Testament religion. It is the only mode of safe approach to some phases of the subject. The origin and rationale of sacrifice are nowhere explained in the Old Testament.[4] Cain offers of the first fruits of the earth, and his offering is rejected. Abel offers of the firstlings of the flock, and his offering is accepted. Why was one rejected, the

other accepted? We can only conjecture upon the basis of far later beliefs, with almost the certainty of being led astray. Abraham was about to offer a human sacrifice. To do so was occasional among the ancient Semitic peoples. His hand, grasping the knife of slaughter raised above the head of his only son, is stayed and a substitute animal sacrifice is offered. God himself provides the sacrifice—a belief in full keeping with ancient Semitic theology. The Mosaic institution has a large element of the ritual of sacrifice; some of it very ancient, some of it showing the modifications made by Israel's spiritual conceptions of the one true God in struggle to become differentiated from the polytheism of their kindred neighbors. But we can study these rites and perceive their place in the development of the Jewish people and their purer religious conceptions in the days of Josiah and of Ezekiel and at last in the "Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world."

4. Certain tendencies embodied in developing forms of worship that fitly represent collateral conceptions may be traced through the institutions of religion like augmenting streams through the plains and valleys. Among the most ancient types of religion is the conception of the tribe or community and the deity as of blood kinship and socially related. The sacrifice therefore expresses the community life, in which the deity as well as the people, as members of the one social body, both have part. The sacrifice is a common meal. It is less pro-

pitiatory than of the nature of communion. Even if fortune has been adverse, intimating that the deity is displeased, it is conceived to be appropriate only to reëstablish the former rapport by a fresh emphasis upon the essential blood relationship, which may be done through a sacrificial meal, of which the deity is supposed to partake with the worshipers. Thus Noah, on emerging from the ark, offered burnt offerings of every clean beast and every clean fowl, "and Jehovah smelled a sweet savor; and Jehovah said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more everything living, as I have done. . . . And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying, And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you; and with every living creature that is with you."[5] In even the earliest Bible accounts of sacrificial worship there is a spirituality and monotheistic faith that are distinctive and picture a religion in some respects upon a higher plane than the gross superstitions of a later day, in which sacrifice came to have, even in the Bible, a cruel, bloody, and superstitious character; as in David's atrocious satisfaction for the wrong that had been done by Saul to the Gibeonites, and which Jehovah was supposed to accept in the gaunt, pendant, decomposing bodies of the sons of Rispah

and Michal, viewing which, he caused the famine to end.[6]

This beautiful and joyous conception of sacrifice in which the worshipers and the deity partake came to its highest expression in the feast of the Passover, an institution so old that its origin cannot be recovered and which appears at the crucial moment of Israelitish history, in the beginning of months, in the beginning of the new era of revealed religion, with a new significance, the family meal under the immediate protection of Jehovah, consumed entirely, so that nothing of the holy flesh remained to be profaned by the morning. Looking far down the stream of providence and grace, we find the consummation of the ancient Passover in the upper room in Jerusalem, where Jesus, for the first and only time, partakes with his disciples of the family meal. Here the stream issues in the central mystery of the Christian faith, the Communion, which is consummated in his body and his blood.

The stern demands of righteousness are associated in Judaism with the joyous feast of communion. If the twelfth and the twentieth chapters of Genesis had not been inseparable parts of the religious system of Israel, if the spiritual significance of the rite and its association with the Moral Law had been wanting; if the tender experience of fellowship in redemption and the stern sovereignty of righteous action had not been so connected as integral parts of a system of worship and morals, Judaism might

have gone the way of the ancient Canaanites; and it is conceivable that the fullness of time for the Incarnation had not yet come. Instead of beholding the living reality of God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, we should still have been searching what or what manner of times the prophetic Spirit of Christ did signify in ancient rite and oracle.[7]

On the other hand, history records the growth out of the relatively simple and spiritualized forms of Judæo-Christianity of "the motley complex of rites" that accompany and embody Christian worship in the Greek and Roman Mass. The return to the meticulous observance of minutiæ in all the offices of the Roman Catholic Church is a reassertion of the principle of Pharisaism that the doing of things is in itself pleasing to God. In vain may Micah have demanded: "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"[8] For naught Isaiah may have declared: "Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear."[9]

The history of religious institutions and of worship practices is the history of religion itself.

5. The connection that may be observed between the conception of the Church as national, and there-

fore authoritarian, with ritual worship is not accidental nor merely a phenomenon of parallel development. For one thing, the State Church is authoritative and is inseparable from governmental conceptions and the power of inflicting legal penalties. Its rule can be only in externals; sainthood cannot be the test of consistent life, but conformity. Ritualistic practice can be imposed upon a nation, while mystical faith lies wholly in another realm. Ancient religion, until the time of the Mysteries, in the fifth century B.C., was always national, or tribal, and sanctioned and protected and enforced by law. These supports of religion could and did take account of ritualistic performance. What a person thought about God was no business of the government; what he did was a matter of supreme importance to the State, involving the safety and the permanence of the institution. Hence, long after the philosophers of Greece and Rome had repudiated the polytheistic background of the established community worship, the observance of its rites scrupulously continued. The antique conception that forced Agamemnon to offer Iphigenia in Aulis for the prosperity of the expedition against Troy, which was a sincere expression of theological belief, had long centuries since lost all hold upon the minds of thoughtful men, but community ritual had been perpetuated. A similar connection may be traced in the State Church. It is ritualistic, and must be so, because only through the observance of

rites can the government pass upon the reality of the religious life of the members of the community. When the authoritative conception requires that every citizen be a member of the Church, the rite of baptism, administered in infancy, becomes the only test. I am aware that Puritanism has been no less rigidly hierarchical, without a hierarchy, than Catholicism; but Puritanism imposed external tests that forced upon members of the community a conformity in rules of conduct and standards of confession that could not be logically and, at last, practically adjusted to the individualistic conception of religious faith and experience that constituted their background. In a word, Catholicism and the union of Church and State are logically consistent, and ritualism is the normal expression of that relationship; Protestantism cannot flourish in such a connection, because illogical, and ritualism has never afforded the normal expression of Protestantism.

It follows that morality in the two systems will show more or less constant variations. The morality of Roman Catholic countries is of a very different type from that of Protestant countries. This is not to say that the practice of ritualistic worship is inconsistent with either a purer type of spiritual faith or a more robust morality than worship that is free from the prescription of form. It is chiefly to note the historical congeniality of ritualism and authoritarianism. The particularism that prevails in the-

ology would, by the same process, appear to have affinities with the freer modes of worship than the community conception. Of course, in this connection it needs scarcely to be pointed out that the corporate conception of the Church naturally takes to ritual, while the collective conception requires greater freedom in worship.

6. Forms of worship perpetuate faith. It is a common part of our missionary propaganda to urge haste in the evangelization of the world, on the ground that we must be prepared to offer truth in the place of effete and obsolescent heathen faiths, the loss of which will issue in atheism, if Christianity is not ready to substitute them. We may be deceiving ourselves. Heathen faiths and Mohammedanism, it is true, are making progress in the appropriation of our technique of religious education. A Buddhist "Sunday school" seems to work about as well as a Christian Sunday school. Mohammedanism's new system of education may prove to be the very thing with which to sustain the waning crescent, even as we rely upon it to augment the menaced cross. But heathenism and Mohammedanism may have a suggestion for us Christians in the way of a correction of our neglect of the teaching of worship at the time in the development of the soul at which it is most powerful as a conservator of religion. After centuries and millenia these faiths persist and exhibit a vitality that is surprising in view of the large admixtures of error and superstition in them. Ritual

has been almost the sole agent in perpetuating them, and the temple with its worship, not the school, has been the means of transmitting from generation to generation false, cruel, and superstitious religions that to-day confront the missionary of the cross as they did in the time of Carey; and Islam is as strong and as arrogant as when Raymond Lull almost single-handed undertook a mission to the Moslem, for the first time not with the crusader's sword, but with the Saviour's cross.

7. We might easily expect a development of the same principle to be seen in the use of worship forms and practices as a means of introducing a faith to those who are not acquainted with it. When, as in the ancient Jewish synagogue worship, the Christian faith is grafted upon the old, the ritual practices easily become adapted to the expression of the newer faith that comes knocking for admission, the transition is smoother than when the new must be built up from the theological ground. Lacking, as is the case with the Christian missionary in his approach to the unevangelized, the most elemental terms in which to embody the new theological concepts, under the liability of having the only available common terms misunderstood as a result of the apperceptive process, could the missionary but find an approach in worship, a beginning could be made that could be improved in teaching. Paul was not especially successful in his mission in Athens; but he at least began with the elements of the pagan

worship that he found in that city of philosophers and artists. In these he found a common term by which to convey his message. His point of beginning was the synagogue in every place of the Diaspora that he visited.

Liturgics, therefore, as a department of theology, include with especial pertinency and value the teaching function in religion. I cannot but think that our educators have disproportionately neglected this form of religious teaching and have found no equivalent in the intellectual and ethical aspects of instruction especially in the Sunday school, where only recently has the training of children in worship become a part of the curriculum. As sentiments of loyalty to our country are fostered by having school children salute the flag; as patriotism is nourished by the firing of salvos of artillery on the Fourth of July, so by the practice of liturgical prayer and by the display of the symbol of the cross and by the Sacramental rites reverence and the sense of the supernatural must be generated and the worshipful feeling wrought into the soul.

A caution is here necessary lest it be concluded that I am disparaging the teaching of historical, dogmatic, and philosophical aspects of the Christian faith. In the production of the well-rounded Christian personality these are necessary. "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." Modern psychology warns us of the peril of dividing the soul into departments. Modern religious educa-

tion, if consistent, must include liturgics in its material. In fact, it is a hopeful sign that the subject is lately receiving much attention in the non-liturgical Churches.

8. So closely related to family life and religion is the practice of domestic worship that the strength of the institution of the family itself may be estimated upon the basis of the worship practice of the family. Whatever may have been the force of the Synagogue worship in perpetuating the religious and racial traits of Judaism through centuries, often of persecution, and it must have been very great, I suspect that the beautiful ritual of family worship in the home, with its round of feasts, its illuminations, its set prayers and benedictions, has been and still is the more potent factor. In the Roman Catholic home there are symbols and observances that generate an atmosphere of reverence and a feeling for the supernatural that are near akin to faith, and which, though misused in part for the inculcation of superstition, are yet a bulwark against which materialism beats in vain. In Millet's picture, the Angelus, the man with the hoe and the companion of his lowly estate stand in the red and yellow light of the setting sun while the bells in the church tower ring the call to prayer, and with bowed, uncovered head repeat the prescribed prayer of the Roman Church. It is so beautiful that I venture here to repeat it in translation, although at

this point it belongs not to my plan to consider specific forms:

> Pour forth, we beseech thee, O Lord, Thy grace into our hearts; that as we have known the Incarnation of Christ Thy Son by the message of an angel, so, by His Passion and Cross, we may be brought to the glory of His resurrection; through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

When I was a child my parents lived in a part of old New Orleans in which were two great Roman Churches and several schools and eleemosynary institutions of the same. Thrice daily—at morning, noon, and evening—the bells of the Angelus rang through the city streets. I did not know the prayer that was appointed to be said; we were rigid Protestants; I understood only that in some way the Church by its bells was calling the people to prayer, and such was the permanence of the impression upon my child soul that, to this day, the Angelus bells call me, whether I will or not, to the attitude of worship. When I see the picture of the "man with the hoe" I join in his simple worship, which I now understand better. Longings become beliefs when the church bells ring and I find the emotions of childhood returning as I repeat the lines of Father Faber's hymn—

> "Far, far away, like bells at evening pealing,
> The voice of Jesus sounds o'er land and sea,
> And laden souls by thousands, meekly stealing,
> Kind Shepherd, turn their weary steps to thee.

Angels of Jesus, angels of light,
Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night."

A disproportionate attention to the intellectual aspects of religion has made the supernatural less easy to realize as the years have sped me toward the ultimate experience that may solve all mysteries in newly awakened wonder, wonder perhaps near childhood's experience of the "trailing glory"; but even now when the Angelus bells ring the bright announcing angels from their heavenly habitations seem again to touch the lowly earth.

LECTURE II
A STUDY OF SACRIFICE

LECTURE II

A STUDY OF SACRIFICE

For our purposes the earliest worship practices are those with which the Bible acquaints us. These, of course, receive some side light from the wider field of ancient Semitic religions. Of Adam's one hundred and thirty years of life no act of worship is recorded. There are conversations between Adam and Eve, on the one part, and Jehovah-Elohim, on the other. The man's excuse for his wrongdoing and God's judgment upon him are the substance of these conversations. In the clothing of skins of animals made by Jehovah-Elohim, and in the fruits of tillage, there is recognition of a Providence, and children are regarded as a direct gift from God. It is impossible for us to say how nearly articulate was the intercourse between God and original man. Its significance for us is that the late Jahvist writer believed that there was friendly and responsive communion between man and God. There is nothing here of the mythologic atmosphere of the Babylonian accounts of the genesis of human history and religious beginnings, but a pure monotheism and a narrative that may easily be conceived as a naïve attempt to describe the first transactions between God and man. We can hardly accept it as literal history,

but we must stand in reverence before this evidence of Divine inspiration, by which the righteousness of God and the sin of man are represented in a story of such simplicity that it may mold the thought of a child, and of such profundity that it has ever a new and deeper meaning for him who will search.[10]

Of prayer as we know it there is no trace in the narrative; and yet the intercourse between God and man is of kinship with prayer at its highest. Prayer, not sacrifice, is the normal mode of communion between God and man. Prayer is among the original functions of the soul. Antedating all sacrifices and preceding all the obscurations of sin and the diffidence of conscious guilt is the communion of man with God. Even if we should construe Cain's frantic appeals from the judgment of Jehovah against the murderer as prayer, it will be still true of the narrative that sacrifice is described as the earlier of the two forms of service in which the worship impulse finds expression. At least in the beginnings of the religious development, "to sacrifice seems as natural to man as to pray. The one indicates what one feels about himself, the other what he feels about God. The one means a felt need of propitiation, the other a felt sense of dependence."[11]

In the first definite act of worship recorded in the Bible Cain brings of the first fruits of his tillage of the soil; Abel of the firstlings of the flock of his

tending. The one is rejected, the other is accepted. Why? No one knows wherein lay the defect of the one and the excellence of the other, save as interpreted for us by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is in accord with the earliest conceptions of religion that everything depends upon what is done, upon the fidelity with which ritual is followed; but in this case the incident is mixed with conceptions of ethical and spiritual values by which we are driven to the hypothesis that some deeper fault than failure to comply with the minutiæ of sacrificial ritual was the cause of Cain's rejection. We are baffled also when we ask, Whence the introduction of this new mode of worship, and when, and by whom? No one can tell us. The earliest Old Testament narrative is, of course, far later than the earliest times of which it tells, and the scholars who have wrought in the field of ancient Semitic religion have never got back to a period and stage of civilization in which sacrifice was not an assumption or a recognized practice. The Biblical account of the sacrificial worship of Cain and Abel carries for us not only the earliest sacrifice of which we can know, but in connection therewith the genesis of those fierce passions that have ever since burned in religious wars and persecutions, and often caused the "uncircumcision which is by nature" to pass just judgments upon the "letter and the circumcision" that cruelly transgress the law of God in the name of God.[12] Here also is the fratricide that

denies brotherhood and the jealousy of Divine preference that reached its climax in the crucifixion of the Son of God.[13, 14] Shall we leap to the generalization that sacrifice is degenerative and that the enlargement of this part of the religion of the Bible is at the expense of its spirituality and ethical purity? Such a conclusion would be premature. Later we shall have opportunity to test the evidence.

The conception and ritual of sacrifice in the Bible, at least in its earlier examples, is anthropomorphic, but distinctively monotheistic. The beautiful account of Noah's sacrifice of a vast number of clean beasts and birds on his emergence from the ark tells us that the billows of ascending smoke bearing the odors of burning flesh were a "sweet savor" to Jehovah and that Jehovah made it the occasion of renewing the covenant of the perpetuation of the seasons and the maintenance of the conditions of life in the earth. It was a sacrament of which the bow in the cloud became the "outward and visible sign."[15]

Abraham's altar between Bethel and Ai, it may be assumed, bore the customary sacrifice; but that is not mentioned in the narrative. The impressive thing is that there Abraham "called upon the name of Jehovah."[16] Thus prayer becomes associated with sacrifice and thenceforth these two streams of worship run in parallels through the Old Testament institution. In the tent of Abraham we may infer that prayer was often without sacrifice; for

there his servant must have learned to pray as he prayed for guidance by the well of Nahor before he would venture to choose a wife for Isaac in accordance with his oath to Abraham.[17]

Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine when he blessed Abraham is an example of the libation and the meat offering.[18] It is not easy to resist the spiritualizing methods of the early Christian fathers, and indeed of the Reformation, in finding in this act of the great priest who typified Jesus, our great High Priest, the anticipation of the sacramental elements that were ordained in the upper chamber when the whole sacrificial system came to its conclusion. But we must confess that we really know nothing of its meaning. The ancient Semitic libation of blood had been refined into a pouring out of wine, originally as a gift to the god, and of bread, in which the god and the worshiper were supposed to share; but the meaning must have been modified, although the rite remained.

It is difficult for us to reconcile with the spiritual character of the life of Abraham the meticulous care with which the Jahvist narrative prescribes the sacrificial ritual for Abram's covenant offering, when in a time of great perplexity because of his childlessness he guarded the bisected animals and birds from the vultures until a burning furnace passed between the severed halves, perhaps symbolizing the twofold nature of the covenant, and presumably consumed them. During this strange

transaction the horror of great darkness that fell upon Abram in his deep sleep gave way to assurance that his seed should inherit the land from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates.[19]

But of all the baffling events in Abraham's religious history his attempt to offer Isaac upon an altar in Mount Moriah is the supreme mystery.[20] He was familiar with the practice of human sacrifice among his Semitic neighbors. The victim must always have been of the tribal kinship, as the holiest offering, and the flesh must be burnt upon a high place, a necropolis, where the ashes were deposited. Abraham's impulse to offer his son to God was the supreme proof of his faith in the covenant of that memorable night when the fire had passed between the severed halves of the sacrificial animals. Jehovah's substitution of the ram for the human offering was in keeping with ancient Semitic belief, which admitted a sacred animal to take the place of the human victim, by consent of the deity, and was to be a whole burnt offering, no part remaining, no part to be partaken of by the worshipers. In memory of the substituted sacrifice the shrine was called Jehovah-Jireh—the Lord Provides.

The absence of all reference to sacrifice during the Egyptian period, taken together with the demand of Moses that Israel be permitted to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice, indicates an interesting connection between the land and its

altars and the deity who was there worshiped.[21] Sacrifice was suspended in a strange land. The feeling survived the belief in the geographic limitations of Jehovah and as late as the captivity, torn from their altars, devout Jews wailed: "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land?"[22] The ancient Semitic theism, by which the local Baal and the high place where he was to be worshiped in the sacrifical meal were connected, made it impossible to observe the ritual of sacrifice abroad. Long after Israel's return to Palestine the survival of this theology was seen in the persistence of worship in the "high places." Jehovah was the object of worship, but the popular belief long limited his domain and the "high place" offered a constant temptation to associate the local Baalim in worship with Jehovah. We thus understand the request of Naaman, the Syrian, for two mules' burden of earth which he wished to use in the construction of an altar to Jehovah in the foreign land of Syria, thus transporting a portion of the land so that Jehovah of Israel would acknowledge his sacrifices.[23]

The Passover is the most ancient of Israelitish sacrifices to survive to the Mosiac period, and the fact that, in the feast of Unleavened Bread, it is retained in the domestic ritual of Judaism fills one with awe at the persistence of an institution that was ancient in the time of Moses, that became by adoption the center of the meaning of the new era

that began with the Exodus, and that marked the transition from the Old to the New Covenant when Jesus said to his apostles: "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." The Passover is the family feast. The blood of the lamb consecrates and protects the household because it marks a distinction between the people in covenant with Jehovah and those who are not in covenant relation. It is piacular because it signifies the means of cleansing on the eve of the new era in Israel's history. It is sacramental, as it symbolizes a revitalizing of God's people in an act of fresh communion. The offering of the lamb or kid is holy, and therefore the flesh must be entirely consumed before the morning, or, if any remain, it must be burnt with fire.[24]

Early in the Exodus Jethro, the priest of Midian, offered sacrifice to God as a burnt offering and a communion meal, of which Aaron and all the elders of Israel partook with Jethro and Moses.[25] This interesting Midianite priest lived on a high plane of monotheistic thought and worship.[26] "Now I know that Jehovah is greater than all gods," is his confession as he reviews the strange providences by which the Hebrew slaves had been brought to the beginnings of nationality. This is an illustration of the principle that theological presuppositions give way to newer beliefs without effecting changes in the rites by which God has been served. It has been the case also that the original theology gave way to

utter skepticism without impairing the observance of the ritual. The book of Ecclesiastes is a speculation concerning the nature of God that is at best hardly deistic, but which ends with the exhortation: "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man."[27] The commandments evidently belong to the ritual observance of community sacrifice, and do not involve any definite theory of the nature of God. In New Testament times the Temple ritual had reached a complexity that baffles one, but the administration was chiefly in the hands of materialistic Sadducees. In harmony with this principle the Mosaic institution took over sacrificial usages from the older Semitic religions and made them serve a new and loftier theological purpose and belief. Two sections in the ancient Book of the Covenant, embracing about three hundred of the twenty-five hundred words of the American Revised translation, or less than one-eighth of the whole, relate to worship, and assume without further explanation the worship practice of ancient Semitic religion; but this book moves in a new and lofty sphere of spiritual and monotheistic worship and social justice. It prescribes no centralized place of worship, but contains the promise of God's blessing upon Israel in every place in which God may record his name. Burnt offerings and peace offerings are prescribed to be offered upon an altar of earth or of unhewn stones. No leaven is to be mingled with the blood of sacrifice. Three

feasts are to be observed, including the spring festival of unleavened bread.[28]

The sacrificial ceremonies by which Moses declared the covenant and by which all the people assented to it after the reading of the Book, consisted of the simple ritual of the Book of the Covenant. Half the blood was reserved for the altar and the other half was sprinkled upon the people with the declaration, "Behold the blood of the Covenant which Jehovah hath made with you concerning all these words."[29]

The great truth underlying these peace sacrifices is a spiritualizing of the essential idea of the blood kinship of the worshiper and the members of the tribe. God becomes the recognized Father of Israel, living in covenant of obedience on their part and protection on his part. The idea ever remained a spiritual possession and sometimes a passion of Israel. A Davidic Psalmist cries out, "Thou art my Father, my God, and the rock of my salvation."[30] Hosea refers to the Exodus in the words later applied by Matthew to Christ: "Out of Egypt have I called my son."[31] The pure spirituality of the conception comes to expression in the Prophets of the eighth century, and of the Exile. "Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not: thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; thy name is from everlasting."[32] No higher could this conception rise than Paul's declaration: "Ye have

not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the Spirit of sonship, by whom ye cry, 'Father, Father.'"[33] In the same connection occur two paragraphs of the J document, giving an account of the peace sacrifice upon the mountain, when Moses and Aaron and Nadab and Abihu and seventy elders of Israel "beheld the God of Israel."[34] These sacrifices preceded Moses's forty days of seclusion with God, during which he chiseled upon the stone cylinders the law of the Covenant and received directions for the erection of the tabernacle and the consecration of its priesthood and its sacrificial ritual. Until Jesus on another mountain prevailed against the kingdom of evil after forty days of intense thought and fasting and prayer,[35] no forty days ever yielded so momentous a construction for the advantage of the kingdom of God, and this was largely concerned with worship through sacrifice.

The Temple ritual as developed in Exodus and Leviticus must embody the latest Biblical law of sacrifice. It is manifestly later than Deuteronomy, which is much simpler, more primitive, and which, according to the narrative itself, is earlier than Ezekiel, the exact date of which we have. The elaborate system of Ezekiel, himself a priest, probably represents an earlier usage, which, at least to a great extent, obtained before the Captivity. But it is to Deuteronomy and the Covenant in Exodus that we must go for the Mosaic institution

in the main. Though discovered and promulgated in its present form many centuries after Moses, Deuteronomy is consistently Mosaic, more of a unity than either Ezekiel or Leviticus.

Let us confine our study to the few simpler and more elemental forms of Jewish sacrifice, as even the most cursory examination of the widely varied and elaborate sacrificial system of Ezekiel and Leviticus would be impossible in a lecture having its main purpose in another field.

There were two general classes of sacrifices: (1) Burnt offerings and peace offerings; (2) sin offerings and trespass offerings. There were also meat offerings, which in case of poverty were permitted instead of sin offerings. In the former the central idea is *in* communion with God; in the latter, *for* communion with God. Whether substitution or communion is the fundamental idea of these two general classes of sacrifice may be open to question. Apparently the older idea is that of communion; but certainly during the later history of preëxilic Judaism, and in the restored Judaism, there was a great increase in the conception of substitution, as the deepening sense of sin and the intensified threat of political disaster drove the nation to the quest of means of propitiation. Earlier religion is corporate, not personal, and therefore lacks the deep and poignant sense of personal guilt that belongs to a more particularistic theory of society. Communal religion can get along

very well with sin offerings and trespass offerings, such as the old Mosaic ritual provides; but when conscience has been educated by the holy law so that a royal sinner is impelled to cry out,

> "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness:
> According to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.
> . . . . . .
> I know my transgressions; and my sin is ever before me,"[36]

the substitutionary meaning of whole burnt offerings and of the sin offering, which had once been designed only to atone for ritual lapses, became a necessity, else in scorn the sinner might say:

> "Thou delightest not in sacrifice; else would I give it:
> Thou hast no pleasure in burnt offering."[37]

I quote from Dr. Edersheim:

> The fundamental idea of sacrifice in the Old Testament is that of substitution, which again seems to imply everything else—atonement and redemption, vicarious punishment and forgiveness. The first-fruits go for the whole products; the firstlings for the flock; the redemption money for that which cannot be offered; and the life of the sacrifice, which is in its blood, for the life of the sacrificer. Hence also the strict prohibition to partake of blood. Even in the "Korban" gift, or freewill offering, it is still the gift for the giver. This idea of substitution as introduced, adopted, and sanctified by God himself, is expressed by the sacrificial term rendered in our version "atonement," but which really means covering, the substitute in the acceptance of God taking the place of and so covering, as it were, the person of the offender. Hence the Scriptural experience: "Blessed is

> he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered . . . unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity."[38]

Perhaps a word about the meat offering is needed. This consisted of food offered in primitive times to the deity, of which the worshiper did not partake, but which was supposed to be consumed by the god. In its refined and spiritualized form it survives in the shewbread of the temple ritual, which was exposed during seven days in the Holy Place, and then eaten by the priests. The grosser conception of the deity partaking of human food was thus replaced by the thought of ministering to God of the ordinary substance of life and made spiritual by its associations.

In both the earlier codes of Temple worship it is to be observed that the prophetic element dominates the priestly and that the prophet is the author. Whether relevant at this point or not, it is noted by Dr. Edersheim as "a curious fact, but sadly significant, that modern Judaism should declare that neither sacrifices nor a Levitical priesthood belong to the essence of the Old Testament; that, in fact, they had been foreign elements imported into it—tolerated, indeed, by Moses, but against which the prophets earnestly protested and incessantly labored.[39] Is modern Judaism thus far at agreement with that eloquent Jew who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews? "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins. Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice

and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: In burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. . . . He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second."[40] The seeming anomaly in God's prescribing sacrifice, which later his prophets denounced, may be explained by the hypothesis that sacrifice was never intended to be other than symbolic and never was intended to have validity in itself, as was the heathen conception of the pagan neighbors and predecessors of Israel. This explanation is in harmony with the new spirituality that breathes through the whole Mosaic system. It is more simple to explain the phenomenon as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews does on the theory that sacrifice was taken over as an educative institution, which, having fulfilled its purpose, was abandoned.

The Levitical ritual, though the latest, and therefore the most highly organized and complex of the Biblical manuals of the Temple, does not fully represent the sacrificial system of Judaism at its ultimate stage of maturity during the time of Jesus, when the second Temple was standing, one of the wonders of the world for beauty of situation, grandeur of structure, costliness of material, antiquity of origin, and the magnificence of its worship services. But the endless minutiæ of its sacrificial rubrics and the subtle and even silly rabbinical casuistry employed in the elucida-

tion of its offices, and the copious streams of blood that flowed from its altars, weary us as we try to master its ritual merely in outline and move us to disparage it as weak and unprofitable.[41] The wonderful symbolism of which the sacrificial system of ancient Judaism was so full and in which it was potent, as later it spoke to the devout Jewish Christian of the consummation in Jesus the Christ, long precedes the ritualism run mad that characterized the latest days of the Temple, and is at its best in the early Deuteronomic simplicity that preceded it by half a millennium. Certainly there is something elemental in sacrifice—communion and propitiation. Certainly there is an inestimable value in the solemnities of the sanctuary, where the majesty and holiness of God are set forth in significant ritual. Had not the shy, tender plant of reverence been protected by the rites that constantly placed a difference between the holy God and sinful man, it would have withered and perished in the arid atmosphere of human pride. Had not the formal access to God at a sacred shrine been available to keep alive the longing of a soul that cried, "Oh that I knew where I might find him,"[42] the way into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus might not even yet have been made manifest.[43] Had the Temple services not spoken in gradually revealing terms of the substitution of life for life, perhaps the Lord had not yet come suddenly into his temple, even the messenger of the Covenant.[44] Many devout Jews

both in the prophetic period and in the day of Jesus had found real communion with God, and Psalmists who loved the precincts of the Temple and its sacrificial ritual have left us as a legacy the language of devotion and of assurance, of penitential approach and of joyous redemption, of the soul's supreme aspiration and of the sense of personal possession in God. To this treasury of devotion the Christian must often go in order to find the terms in which he can express his most profound experiences. The Benedictus of Zacharias,[45] the Magnificat of Mary,[46] and the Nunc Dimittis of aged Simeon[47] are not apart from the spiritual life that could find nourishment within the sacrificial system of Israel. The Ethiopian, reading of the sheep dumb before his shearer,[48] coming fresh from participating in the Temple service, has been prepared for the message of the evangelist concerning the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. It was not against sacrifice as such in its true Mosaic setting that Isaiah and Micah inveighed, but against the substitution of formal ritualism for justice, love, and devotion. Jeremiah, a priest, possessed the richest spiritual experience of religion before Jesus. Dr. Fosdick says of him: "A braver, gentler, more exquisite or more courageous soul has not often walked the earth, and his spiritual pioneering in the realm of personal religion made him a forerunner of Jesus and a benefactor of the race."[49] And yet, so far as the Gospel record goes, Jesus never

participated in the sacrificial offices of the Temple nor encouraged others to do so. When, for example, he healed the leper and bade him show himself to the priests and make the offering prescribed in the Law, he was merely conforming with the lawful and current, and in this case salutary, requirement of the situation.[50] Sacrifice was one of the important ways in which God had spoken in time past to the fathers by the prophets; but when the days had come in which he could speak to them in the Son, the old had become unprofitable and could not become the vehicle of life in the Spirit.[51] The incongruity of the revolting and indelicate conditions of the ancient sacrifice could not have survived the growing refinement of the life in the spirit that was poured out by the ascended Jesus Christ. I borrow from Dean Stanley a picture of the ancient sacrifice:

> Let us conceive [he says] the changes which would be necessary in any church in order to make it fit for such a cere mony:
>
> In the midst of an open court, so that the smoke of the fire and the odors of the slain animals might go up into the air, . . . stood the altar—a huge platform—detached from all around, and with steps approaching it from behind and from before, from the right and from the left. Around this structure, as in the shambles of a great city, were collected bleating, lowing, bellowing, the oxen, sheep, and goats, in herds and flocks, which one by one, were led up to the altar, and with the rapid stroke of the sacrificer's knife, directed either by the king or the priest, they received their death wounds. Their dead carcasses lay throughout the court, the

> pavement streaming with their blood, their quivering flesh placed on the altar to be burnt, the black columns of smoke going up to the sky, their remains afterwards consumed by the priests or worshipers who were gathered for the occasion to an immense banquet. This was a Jewish sacrifice.[52]

At the beginning of this study the assertion was made that sacrifice, like prayer, is fundamental in the expression of the worship impulse. This thesis could be fully proved by a wider study than we can make of the place of sacrifice in early religions in all countries and among all peoples. Had these old sacrifices, especially in Judaism, no inner meaning that requires some permanent form of expression by Christians, who are the spiritual heirs of priests and prophets? The word "sacrifice" has survived in the New Testament and in the most spiritual Christian hymns:

> "Not all the blood of beasts
> On Jewish altars slain
> Could give the guilty conscience peace
> Or wash away its stain.
>
> But Christ, the heavenly Lamb,
> Takes all our guilt away,
> A sacrifice of nobler name
> And richer blood than they." [53]

Already in the prophetic developments of the Old Testament prayer and thanksgiving were spoken of as sacrifice. "Let the lifting up of my hands in prayer to thee be as the evening sacrifice." [54]

"Offer unto God thanksgiving and pay thy vows to the Most High."[55] The sincerely penitent heart is accepted as sacrifice. "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."[56] Similarly in the New Testament: "By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise unto God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name."[57] Deeds of love to our fellow men are equivalent to sacrifice. "I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings."[58] "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"[59] "To do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased."[60] Paul speaks of the gifts sent him through Epaphras by the Philippian Church, as "an odor of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God."[61] Willing obedience is regarded as sacrifice, witness the classic passage twice quoted by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire. . . . Then said I, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God."[62] This perfect obedience is spoken of as a rendering of the body a sacrifice, holy, living, and acceptable to God, a spiritual service.[63] In something of this sense Paul says: "Christ gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savor."[64]

In all these ways Christ offered a perfect sacrifice

to God, in pure spiritual worship, in deeds of love and mercy, and in giving himself utterly on the cross for the redemption of mankind. The writer of Hebrews says: "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?"[65] "Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many."[66]

The sacrifice of Christ and our self-sacrifice are associated in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is therefore quite proper to speak of the Communion Table as an altar and to give it the decorations that are comely for an altar. "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle. . . . By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name.[67] The abuses of this great truth of institutional Christianity by the Roman Church in her profession to offer again the sacrifice of Christ on the altar, should not be allowed to turn us away from the reality of a sacrifice that is made again and again at the altar where we commemorate his sacrifice and make our own. Fragments of the ancient practice of bringing bread and wine into the church and offering them at the Eucharistic feast remain in some liturgies; for example, in the English Prayer for the Church Militant, is said, "We offer unto thee our oblations."[68] In the prayer of Consecration we commemorate God's great

love in giving "his only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there (by his oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world."[69] The sacrificial character of our participation in the Eucharistic feast is further expressed in the Thanksgiving following the Communion: "O Lord and Heavenly Father, we thy humble servants desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee, that we and thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee. . . . And although we be unworthy through our manifold sins to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service."[70]

Thus the whole ancient meaning of sacrifice and the essence of the supreme sacrifice of Jesus Christ and the fulfillment of the spiritual aspirations and realizations of all souls that seek the Lord in his appointed way of worship are met in this greatest of Christian institutions, of which our Lord said, "Do this in remembrance of me."[71]

LECTURE III
A STUDY OF PRAYER

LECTURE III

A STUDY OF PRAYER

Of the two primitive channels through which the worship impulse came to expression we chose sacrifice for study in our second lecture. It is in order that we now take up the study of prayer as its complement. As the Bible afforded us the material for the former, so it will for the present study. We should remember, however, that neither prayer nor sacrifice is distinctive of the Bible record and teaching. As the Bible assumes sacrifice, and nowhere offers an explanation of the practice, except as by implication in the taking over of ancient sacrificial rituals into the Mosaic institution, with its impression of higher ethical and spiritual purposes, so also the practice of prayer is assumed; and while sacrifice occurs at an earlier stage of the narrative than prayer, we are not therefore to conclude that men offered sacrifice before they prayed. In the relatively late JE document is preserved the disconnected and unrelated statement following the record of the birth of Enosh, "Then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah."[72] This may mean either that the revelation of the name of Jehovah occurred thus early, or, more probably, that the discovery of prayer marks this period and that, therefore, the naïve anthropomorphisms of the

first three chapters of Genesis do not imply any practice such as we know as prayer.

However we may interpret this pregnant record, the entire progress of the Biblical narrative indicates that increasing importance attaches to prayer, while at the end of the process sacrifice survives not in form, but in the spiritual equivalents that are found in Jesus and in the lives of those who follow him. However interrupted by counter currents and eddies, the development of religion is in the direction of pure spirituality, independent of holy places, ministering priests, and the outward paraphernalia of worship. Its goal is the Father's will, that neither in Jerusalem nor in Shechem, neither on Mount Moriah, where Abraham offered up Isaac, nor in Mount Gerizim, where Jacob set up his tribal government, is God to be worshiped, but in spirit and in truth.[73] And looking still further into the future, the seer of Patmos saw no temple in the New Jerusalem; "for the Lord God, the Almighty, and the Lamb are the temple thereof."[74]

In the preceding lecture reference was made to the well-recognized drift of prophetism away from the ritual of sacrifice toward pure spiritual communion with God, apart from any apparatus of worship. Referring to the classic day of ritual sacrifice and the heroisms of the national beginnings, Hosea could say: "By a prophet the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved."[75] Prayer is the normal vehicle of

the prophet's approach to God, as sacrifice is the priest's. In the ultimate judgment of the Bible the prophet surpasses the priest by as much as Moses is greater than Aaron. Nevertheless, the development of the relatively simple sacrificial ritual of Moses into the magnificence of the second Temple was not without an accompanying, though unequal, growth of prayer as a feature of its services. In later Judaism the synagogue, with its simpler and more spiritual service of prayer, reading the Scriptures and preaching, grew throughout the Diaspora as well as in Palestine. The beginning of the synagogue has been usually assigned to the period of the Babylonian captivity;[76] but if we are right in associating the synagogue with prophetism, it may have begun at a much earlier period to be the center of a non-sacrificial worship. It could never have been a substitute for the Temple; for the Temple was never the center of popular worship, but the "high places," and it was only toward the end of the precaptivity period that Jewish worship was concentrated in the Temple at Jerusalem. At the time of Jesus both conceptions and modes of worship had reached their climax, the one in ritual splendor unsurpassed, the other in purity and simplicity of approach to God wherever a small group of the righteous could be found to form a congregation. Jesus was often to be found teaching in the Temple courts. Such was his veneration for the ancient institution that he could speak of it as

"My Father's house," and in wrath he expelled those who made merchandise of sacrificial animals in its sacred courts. More significant, however, is his designation of the Temple as "My house of prayer." Isaiah saw the dawn of New Testament universalism over the most exclusive element in the Jewish institution. He predicted that the sacrifices of the sons of strangers should be "accepted upon mine altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all people."[77] The literalist may take great comfort in the fact that a Roman Emperor had regular daily sacrifices made for himself in the Temple built by Herod, an Idumean. Still, I think Jesus's religious life was nurtured in the synagogue and that there he found more congenial worship than amid the magnificences of the Temple. Possibly it was in the Temple that he taught his disciples to pray, but there is no record of his ever having participated in the sacrificial worship of the Temple. Once he celebrated the Passover with his disciples, but that was in an upper chamber where he was a guest of some unknown disciple.

Says Prof. J. E. McFadyen: "The Bible is the great religious classic of the world, and prayer is one of the highest exercises of religion. A study of Biblical prayer must therefore be of interest alike to the student of the Bible, and to the man of religious life and temper, whether he be a student or not."[78] In the study of prayer as one of the most important ways in which the worship impulse has

come to expression we therefore go first to the Bible. We are studying the practice, not the theology, of prayer; but certain general thought relations may be referred to, although the Bible nowhere gives a philosophy of prayer, but simply assumes the reality of prayer as a part of the life of man in relation to God. There are many questions that engage the modern mind in relation to prayer that are not raised and therefore not answered in the Bible. Such questions are the relation of prayer to law; the rationale of prayer in view of the omniscience and the infinite goodness of God; the psychology of the will, in which occurs the question whether prayer be only an expression of ideas and desires and their complementary volitions, or also a means of bringing new motives to bear upon choice; whether prayer for material benefits is consistent with belief in the Providence that orders our life from a higher viewpoint of wisdom and knowledge; the question whether men are deceiving themselves in believing that prayer is really a means of effecting events. Can prayer be regarded as a cause? Should we not rather regard and practice prayer as a pious exercise, reflexively working an influence upon the feelings of him who prays, but corresponding with no objective reality, releasing no other force than that of the human will; giving utterance to strong desires, the gratification of which cannot in any way be ascribed to prayer, but connected with a thought of God that has outlived its meta-

physics; expressing gratitude for circumstances of life that are but the result of the outworking of cosmic forces, but though fictitious, having a value for the generation of emotions that have a religious collateral? If this be true of the subjective theory of prayer, then are we not when we pray imposing upon ourselves as grossly and as crudely as if we consulted a heathen oracle, all the while knowing that its vaticinations were frauds? Self-deception cannot be edifying. Prayer cannot survive such a philosophy. But is a process of the elimination of prayer from the Bible conceivable? God, the soul, faith, and righteousness would be impossible apart from the assumptions of prayer.

Not only do we not find these questions discussed in the Bible; they had no existence in the world in which the Bible came. In the Greek world of the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. they had been raised. In the Roman world in which the Christian Church arose they received little respect, as among materialists of to-day. But the Bible contains a remarkable record of men who prayed, and fragments of their prayers have been preserved; sometimes long and carefully prepared prayers. The men who prayed were the princes of God on earth—Abraham, Hosea, Ezra, Nehemiah, Paul. Without answering modern questions concerning prayer, these men by prayer and its results in life empty these modern problems of significance. The prayers of the Bible are incandescent with a supernatural light that

causes our materialistic questionings to appear puerile.

In the Bible world the supernatural is easy. There the human subject, intensely conscious of his ability to cause changes in his social and material environment, hesitated not to attribute the same power to God, only raised to the *n*th degree. Hence the worshipful utterances of Hebrew prophets and poets. For the ancient Hebrews second causes did not exist. God was immediate in all natural phenomena and he directly influenced the choices and dispositions of the human heart. Disease and madness were sent by him as penalties visited upon sinners, or were inflicted by some malevolent supernatural agency. There was much that is anthropomorphic in the idea of God: his emotional reactions were likened to those of men, and even the processes of mind by which God reached decisions were analogous to the processes of the human soul. All this, however, was not inconsistent with a lofty transcendence. The Divine favoritism by which Israel had been elected raised no question of the justice of God, and even Paul could see no difficulty in likening the attitude of God toward the moral beings whom he had caused to exist to that of the potter toward the clay on his wheel; and in contemplation of what Calvin called "the horrible decree," could exultantly exclaim, "O the depth of the riches both of the

wisdom and the knowledge of God!"[79] The majestic declaration to Moses on Sinai—

> The Lord, the Lord, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and fourth generation[80]—

is found in the same book with the assertion of Jehovah's arbitrary will in raising up Pharaoh to be a conspicuous example of his destructive power.[81] We may ask whether in such a world there is a place for prayer, but the question is not answered any more than are our modern questions concerning the consistency of prayer with materialistic predestination.

Questions of ethical consistency arise as we study the prayers of the Bible. Samson died in an act of wholesale slaughter, praying for vengeance upon his enemies.[82] Nehemiah, who, as much as any man of whom we have any record, lived in the consciousness of the presence of God, prayed for the severest punishment upon his enemies.[83] Contrast Stephen's prayer for those who were slaying him.[84] The contradiction is not wholly ancient, however, for Luther could say of one who declined his leadership in the Reformation: "Erasmus of Rotterdam is the most execrable miscreant upon the earth. . . . Whenever I pray I pray for a curse to rest upon

Erasmus."[85] The imprecatory Psalms, which rise to a climax of invective in the sixty-ninth, are in literary company with the most intimate expressions of communion with God.

The Bible itself raises these ethical questions as the result of the growth of the mind of Jesus in his Body, the Church. But they do not exist in the Bible record itself. And yet, all these differences having been reviewed, it is true that the Christian is nourished by the prayers of the Bible and his faith is strengthened by the devotional language of men who lived in a world of ideas different from our modern conceptions. But it differed less from the world of Luther and Calvin than theirs did from ours. The essence of the Bible is timeless and its inspirations are valid for the twentieth century. The difficulties that have been raised for us by modern science are not really so great as they seem. Granting the origin of the universe in God, there can be nothing inconsistent in conceiving of God as immanent; and if immanent, certainly not inexorably limited by the system of which he is the Originator. Personality has thus far eluded scientific analysis. A Humboldt or a Spencer knows this crowning phenomenon only through consciousness—the "thing in itself"—so does a child. Accustomed to dealing with force as manifested in phenomena, the tendency is to conceive of all force as impersonal; but this is simply a habit of mind that overlooks the fact that we really know force only through

consciousness and therefore as emanating from a person. It is not science that finds difficulty with Biblical prayer, but a habit of the scientific mind. Until all the laws of nature are known and all phenomena have been observed in their sequences, we cannot antecedently call in question the reality of prayer and its effect in the mind of the personal God, who answers as Person to person; or rather as Father to son.

While in the Bible prayer does not raise the perplexities that it suggests to the modern man, it always assumes a personal and ethical idea of God. If his will sometimes seems arbitrary, that is merely a way of caring for his omnipotence. If sometimes his anger seems severe, this may be a way of guarding the truth of his justice. What seems the election of favoritism may be interpreted as a way of exhibiting his redeeming love. The men who prayed had higher conceptions of God than obtained among their contemporaries, whose chief expression of the worship impulse was sacrifice. Local limitations of God did not exist for the men who prayed. Sometimes they employed vigorously figurative language that might be so construed, but taken as a part of a whole it cannot have that meaning. If a Psalmist declares that "Jehovah is in his holy temple," in the next line he says: "Jehovah, his throne is in the heavens."[86] The magnificent theophanies of the Psalms are mingled with conceptions of light as God's garment[87] and a glory that is

above the heavens.[88] Though late in obtaining its magnificent expression in Solomon's prayer, the omnipresence of God underlies all Bible prayer. "Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have builded!"[89] That our understanding of the silent word from the astronomical heavens and the written word of holy Scripture may not be so vitiated by our ignorance and pride, we may well pray in the language of a Psalmist to whom both were the word of God,

> "Who can understand his errors?
> Cleanse thou me from secret faults.
> Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins;
> Let them not have dominion over me."[90]

The subject matter of prayer in the Bible is what it is in Christian life of to-day, naturally so as our religion is derived from the Bible. The elements or parts of prayer are the same—petition, intercession, thanksgiving, confession, vow, complaint. Most prayers include more than one of these elements. Biblical prayers may be classified also as free prayer and formal prayer, meaning by the latter term only that certain prayers are of fixed form, possibly more often liturgical; but prayer offered in public service may literally be termed liturgical, though produced at the time or for the occasion, while private prayers often follow forms. We cannot be sure whether men first prayed in solitude or found the earliest expression of the worship im-

pulse in community rites, in which fixed forms are requisite to common participation. Abraham's prayers come earlier in the record than the earliest liturgical prayers; but the record is neither complete nor chronological. But the oldest forms of religion are corporate. Ethical questions that occur in connection with the lives of some of the best men of the Bible are thus resolved. Joshua's inclusion of the innocent family of Achan in the punishment of the guilty indicates the strong corporate feeling that overcomes natural pity.[91] Thus Samuel hews Agag in pieces before the Lord.[92] However the question of priority of origin and practice, let us take first the liturgical prayers of the Bible.

Upon the setting forth of the Ark in the wilderness journeying, these noble invocations were uttered:

> Rise up, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee.

And when it rested:

> Return, O Jehovah, unto the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel.[93]

By thus inclosing the day with all its experiences within the confession of Jehovah's presence and claiming his presence in the rest and stillness of the night, a deep impression must have been made upon the untaught multitude. Psalm 68, probably post-exilic, has a direct quotation.

Strikingly suggestive of our worship of the Holy Trinity is the Aaronic Benediction:

> "Jehovah bless thee, and keep thee:
> Jehovah make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:
> Jehovah lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."[94]

In the service of the second Temple this was a part of the morning and evening sacrifice. When, striken dumb by the vision in the Holy Place, the aged Zacharias came forth from offering incense, it was this Benediction that the kneeling multitude awaited in vain.[95]

If we except certain Psalms that are mainly prayer, and evidently liturgical, and a disclaimer and a prayer to be said by the elders of a city in which an untraced murder has been committed, these are the only strictly liturgical prayers in the Old Testament. It is improbable that, with all the elaborate ritual of sacrifice, there was not more liturgical prayer, but it has not been preserved in connection with the Temple institution in Old Testament times. Liturgy of some sort is essential when groups of people worship together, and individual worship, whether it existed earlier or not, developed more slowly than corporate worship. Together with the elaboration of the ritual of the Temple sacrifices there was a growth of prayer. In the time of Christ "the hour of prayer" was a part of the Temple schedule.[96] It is impossible to

distinguish accurately between prayer and praise, for praise is a part of prayer, though having its own technique, especially in musical service; and many Psalms, especially postexilic, seem to have been designed for ritual use. Jesus's designation of the Temple as "My House of Prayer" proves that the ritual of the first century must have included a considerable portion of prayer. Dr. Edersheim thinks that after the return from Babylon there must have been a great enrichment of the Temple service with prayer. This would have been demanded by the repatriated exiles, who had become accustomed during the captivity to the more spiritual and intelligible services of the synagogue. There is early evidence in the Benediction with which each of the first four books of the Psalms is concluded:

> "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel,
> From everlasting to everlasting.
> Amen, and Amen."[97]

And the entire collection ends with a burst of praise, a Doxology.[98]

Forms of prayer were in use, and it is perhaps in allusion to these that the disciples of Jesus make request: "Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples."[99] The prayer that Jesus himself produced for the use and instruction of his disciples is included in all Christian liturgies, even the simplest.[100] Although it rises far above all other forms of prayer, it rests upon a basis of Jewish

rabbinic prayer of the times. The petitions, "Forgive us our trespasses" and "Lead us not into temptation," are unique; so also is the spiritual and universal meaning of the whole. The rabbis taught that "a prayer that makes no mention of the kingdom is no prayer at all"; but their conception of the kingdom was tainted by narrow nationalism that had never felt the splendid universalism of the great prophets.

However, in the Temple and even in its predecessor, the Tabernacle of the wilderness, there must have been much prayer as burdened souls sought the sacred precincts in order to pour out their griefs and tell their perplexities. Dr. Edersheim argues that as sacrifice was a predecessor of prayer in the order of development, so it was in contemporary worship a preparation for prayer. The Tabernacle was the "tent of meeting" for God and man; therefore such as Hannah would thither resort in bitterness of soul; there would her prayer, the precursor of the Magnificat of Mary, rise like the incense.[101] The blessing of old Eli upon the praying woman reads like an oft-repeated form:

> Go in peace; and the God of Israel grant thee thy petition that thou hast asked.[102]

In days when the gentle Asaph was remembered in a school of worship a burdened soul, not wishing to offend against the generation of God's people, oppressed by doubts because the rich prospered and

to God's saints the waters of a full cup of sorrow were wrung out, confessed:

> "When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me;
> Until I went into the sanctuary of God;
> Then understood I their end." [103]

Within the holy precincts, where the incense of the morning and evening sacrifice rose and whence the clouds of smoke from the altar of burnt offering ascended to heaven, where the burdened heart had learned to think of the nearness of Jehovah and that he is merciful and gracious and to be found of them that seek him with all their heart, the answer to the problem came. Yes, long before Jesus came into the Temple the Father's house had become a house of prayer, where men had learned to cast their burdens upon the Lord and there find comfort and strength.

Nearly related to liturgical prayers, which were intended for regular use, are the Bible prayers that were prepared for important public occasions. Of these the most impressive and the most comprehensive is Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the first Temple. It is reported in the first book of Kings as made by Solomon, while he stood before the altar of Jehovah in the presence of all the assembly of Israel, and spread forth his hands toward heaven, and uttered this great prayer of dedication. It surges with the rhythm and mighty thoughts of Deuteronomy. Whatever may have

been its original basis, it is hard to believe that it emanated from the mind and heart of Solomon, a man gifted though he was, who in pride and sensuality had scarcely an equal, and whose later life was a flagrant contradiction of the passionate monotheism of this prayer. In its present form it belongs to the prophetic editor of the book of Deuteronomy, which Hilkiah found in the Temple during the reign of Josiah. It would be no wild guess to attribute it to Jeremiah, the saintliest, the most eloquent, and the most deeply spiritual of the Israelites before Jesus. Its frequent reading would probably improve the quality of the ministry of those upon whom rests the responsibility of leading the worship of congregations of God's children Sunday after Sunday. Its very phraseology and rhythm have become normal to the language of devotion, and on no occasion of the dedication of a house of worship in a Christian land have failed the words: "Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house."

While the cloud filled the shrine a blessing based upon the election of the house of David, and the fulfillment of the promise that a son should sit upon his throne and realize the aspirations that his own bloody hands were forbidden, precedes the prayer.[104] Ascription of supreme majesty and fidelity in the fulfillment of the covenant with David, and a petition that the same may be true in the experience

of his son, open the prayer. That the eyes of God may be open to this house and his ears attentive to the prayers of his people, notwithstanding the contrast between the best that man can do and the ineffable majesty of God, follows. A prayer of social justice, far ahead of the times, comes next. That Israel, smitten before an enemy, but turning and here confessing their sin, may be restored to the land of their fathers; that when distressed by drought and menaced by famine, Jehovah would teach his people the good way and send rain upon the earth; that when scourged by famine, pestilence, blasting mildew, locust or caterpillar, besieged in their cities, scourged by plague or sickness whatsoever— the plague of one's own heart—Jehovah would hear from heaven, his dwelling place, the confession and the prayer made from this house, forgive and do unto every man according to his ways; that men might fear God all their days in the land. The prayer moves on that God would maintain the cause of his people in battle. Here follows the anticipation of the captivity that finally punished and purified apostate Israel, under the shadow of which Jeremiah, the prophetic editor, lived and prayed that there might be a second exodus like unto the first, when God brought their fathers out of Egypt—a new epoch from which they should reckon their national life. A final blessing follows a period of silent prayer, while the great king, with outstretched hands, kneels before Jehovah.

Almost at the moment, as one may say, of Israel's deliverance from Babylon, the answer to Solomon's prayer, looking toward Edom (instead of Persia or Elam), a prophet uttered a prayer for God's interposition in national affairs that deserves to be classed with the Prayer of Dedication and moves in the same field. The address is especially reminiscent—"Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy glory."[105] The book of Daniel contains a remarkable prayer, longest of the prayers of the Bible—save Solomon's. After much preparation of heart by fastings, ascetic disciplines, and supplications, that grew out of the recognition of the advent of the set time for the deliverance of Israel, Daniel prayed for the restoration of his people.[106] But we shall probably think most naturally of this "man greatly beloved" as looking toward Jerusalem in customary private intercession.

The literature of Ezra's restoration of the Temple worship and of Nehemiah's rebuilding of the prostrate walls of the city is rich in prayer. There bursts from Ezra's lips a great blessing when the letter from Artaxerxes, providing for the completion of the great task, is read.[107] He leads an act of confession and humiliation upon learning that the fatal mingling of Jews with the aboriginal people has invaded the purity of the chosen people.[108] In the book of Nehemiah prayer weaves in and out

of the narrative with easy change that reveals a life of prayer in this great builder.[109]

A poetic and devotional gem is Jonah's thanksgiving "out of the fish's belly." If the locative phrase be more than incidental, it is difficult to account for omission in the prayer itself of allusion to the remarkable circumstance. Amid the perils of immersion in the deep, from which the renegade prophet was rescued as "out of the belly of Sheol," Jonah had been rescued, and probably on the first occasion of access thereafter to the Temple he poured out his gratitude in the exquisite prayer. How feelingly could the restored prophet say: "They that regard lying vanities forsake their own mercy."[110]

When we turn to the personal prayers of the Bible we find that the material is rich and abundant. In the Psalms these mingle with liturgical and occasional portions, where there is also the combination of musical and purely verbal modes. But the Temple Psalms are as well adapted to personal use, and those that arose out of special occasions possess a wide range of application. Psalm 24 is liturgical, but conveys a blessing to the man "that hath clean hands and a pure heart." Psalm 40 is very personal, but it is applied to Christ.[111] It is impossible to recover the occasion of the twenty-second Psalm; but whether originally a cry of distress by some prophet soul for Israel, or an outpouring of some devout Israelite in strong agony,

it had become a part of the Temple and the synagogue liturgy in Jesus's day. Our puzzle that the Son of God should have experienced an eclipse upon the cross is resolved when we consider that Jesus had been accustomed to reciting the entire Psalm in public worship, and that upon the cross he uttered its well-remembered words from the disconsolate beginning—

> "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

to the triumphant climax—

> "For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted;
> Neither hath he hid his face from him;
> But when he cried unto him he heard.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> They shall come and shall declare his righteousness
> Unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done it." [112]

That the Psalms, which so frequently strike the personal and experimental note, should have become the heart of the Temple and the synagogue liturgy, and still remain both the devotional manual of the Christian and an important part of the worship of the Christian congregation, is a fact of unparalleled significance for our subject and for the whole theological question of inspiration. That a collection of worship poems, arising in the midst of a sacrificial system that has been wholly discarded, should either disparage that system or

only formally recognize it; while moving invariably in the field of immediate intuition of God and sounding the true note of communion; should still hold an essential place in both the personal and corporate worship of Christians is evidence of Divine inspiration, or there can be no valid evidence. The Psalms also give evidence of the course of religious development toward the goal of fellowship with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ.[113]

The twofold use of the Psalms, as personal and liturgical, is also an important evidence that the distinction between personal and liturgical worship is not a rigid one. Most of the great liturgies of ancient and later times may serve as manuals of private prayer; and the same liturgies are partly composed of the prayers of devout souls, the personal and limited meaning of which easily merges into the larger corporate life of the Church. The very language of the Psalms and many other of the worship portions of the Bible has often opened the way of expression to burdened souls and has given wings to the praises of the redeemed. We may be warned in the same connection against placing too strict a division line between free prayer and prayer that finds its most congenial expression in the forms and language of saints and congregations that have left us their prayers as a rich heritage.

Whether or not the prayers of the synagogue were the point of departure from which Christian worship proceeded must for the present remain an

unanswered question. It seems logically to fall here, preceding a study of some New Testament prayers, briefly to examine the worship practices of the synagogue of Jesus's day, the church of his boyhood and Incarnate ministry, the church of his people, one of the formative factors in his own religious life, the church of the early messengers of the cross, the pulpit of some of Paul's great preaching. The synagogue in Jesus's time was held in great respect and deeply revered. Special value attached to prayer in the synagogue.[114]

Dr. Edersheim reflects: "It was surely a wondrously linked chain of circumstances which bound the Synagogue to the Church. Such a result could never have been foreseen as that, what really constitutes the consequence of Israel's dispersion, and, therefore, indirectly, the punishment of their sin should become the means of fulfilling Israel's world-mission; another manifestation of that supernatural rule of God, in which all is rule, that is, law and order, and all supernatural, bringing to pass, in the orderly succession of events, what, at the outset, would have seemed, and really is, miraculous. Without it, as indeed without Israel's dispersion, the Church universal would, humanly speaking, have been impossible, and the conversion of the Gentiles have required a succession of millennial miracles."[115]

The synagogue prayers, then, acquire an interest as the link between the ancient congregational wor-

ship in which Jesus participated and the services of the Church that grew out of his teaching, his sacrifice of himself upon the cross, the coming of his Spirit in Pentecostal power, and the commissioning of disciples to preach his gospel in all the world. Dr. Edersheim gives two prayers that were to be offered in opening the ordinary Synagogue service by one standing near the lectern in the middle of the Synagogue, who was afterwards to read the selection from the Prophets for the day.[116]

1. Blessed be thou, O Lord, King of the world, who formest light and createst darkness, Who makest peace and createst everything; Who in mercy givest light to the earth and to those who dwell upon it, and in Thy goodness, day by day, and every day, renewest the works of creation. Blessed be the Lord our God for the glory of His handiworks, and for the life-giving lights which he has made for his praise. Selah. Blessed be the Lord our God, Who has formed the lights.

2. With great love hast Thou loved us, O Lord our God, and with much overflowing pity hast thou pitied us, our Father and our King. For the sake of our fathers, who trusted in Thee, and Thou taughtest them the statutes of life, have mercy upon us, and teach us. Enlighten our eyes in Thy law; cause our hearts to cleave to Thy commandments; unite our hearts to love and fear Thy Name, and we shall not be put to shame, world without end. For Thou art a God Who preparest salvation, and us hast Thou chosen from among all nations and tongues, and hast in truth brought us near to Thy great Name—Selah—that we may lovingly praise Thee and Thy Unity. Blessed be the Lord, Who in love chose His people Israel.

Here followed the *Shema*,[117] or Creed, after which this prayer:

> True it is, that Thou art Jehovah, our God, and the God of our fathers, our King, and the King of our fathers, our Saviour, and the Saviour of our fathers, our Creator, the Rock of our Salvation, our Help, and our Deliverer. Thy Name is from everlasting, there is no God beside Thee. A new song did they that were delivered sing to thy Name by the seashore; together did all praise and own Thee King, and say, Jehovah shall reign, world without end! Blessed be the Lord Who saveth Israel.

A number of Eulogies and Benedictions followed these prayers, then the concluding Benediction:

> O bestow upon Thy people Israel great peace forever. For Thou art King and Lord of all peace. And it is good in Thine eyes to bless Thy people Israel at all times and at every hour with Thy peace. Blessed art Thou, Jehovah, Who blesseth Israel His people with peace.[118]

The reading of the Prophets and the Law, and the sermon followed.

Not all prayer in the Synagogue was of prescribed form. Dr. Edersheim says that, both during the Benedictions and the Eulogies and following the concluding Benediction, free prayer might be made. It was in the Synagogue of Nazareth, following such a service, that Jesus declared that Isaiah's prophecy of the long-expected Messiah had been fulfilled in himself.[119] It was in the synagogue that he habitually taught and there some of his mighty works were done. Nor can we doubt that the im-

pulse to pour out his feelings and desires often found spontaneous expression in the synagogue, as well as in the secret place with shut door and in the mountain and the garden. Gethsemane was not dedicated on the night of the betrayal; it had long been Jesus's oratory.

The prayers of the New Testament do not contain any elements that are lacking in the Old Testament prayers. "In the name of Jesus" is a condition given by the Master, but its interpretation must be spiritual, rather than formal. It is not a phrase for magic, but a comprehensive statement of an attitude of faith in the mediation of Christ that must underlie all Christian approach to God and all service rendered unto God. The phrase and its equivalents, however, possess so great an educative value that no Christian prayer should be offered without it.[120] All its meaning is latent in Old Testament prayer and but becomes patent in the New Testament.

Nor does the New Testament raise the question of the respective merits of free prayer and liturgical prayer. The question sometimes receives statement as a false dilemma: either free prayer or liturgical prayer. The worship impulse finds expression in both in the New Testament. The worship practices of Judaism continued into the Christian Church and with modifications remain to this day, easily combining with developments that are distinctly Christian. Episcopal Methodism by

tradition and by modern use is committed to both. The Communion and other offices have always been ritualistic, as was the Sunday Service at first, while the morning and evening services contain the Lord's Prayer, the Apostolic Benediction, and the *Gloria Patri* as survivals from the original English Book of Common Prayer. The question should be easily settled by the fact that Jesus provided a form of prayer for his disciples, and on most occasions of public or family worship its omission is a real impoverishment; and for our private prayers it often affords words when we "know not what to say," a basis of faith when the heavens are brass, and comprehension when our prayers tend to become narrowly limited to the small circle of our personal interests. It is usually held that the ascription with which Matthew's report of the Lord's Prayer ends does not belong to the earliest form; but its fitness for common worship is so evident that it is to be hoped that no criticism may ever remove it from the service of the Church.

The great prayer of Intercession[121] opens to our reverent and astonished gaze the Holy of Holies of Jesus's soul. Whether it is verbally reported or only in substantial keeping with the Spirit of Jesus, is of only secondary importance to any but those who worship the letter. If we find in verse three evidence of the interpretative hand of the beloved disciple, it is a disclosure of truth so fully in accord with the mind of the Master that we cannot regret

it. Who of us has not had experiences in which the strongest support was needed and enjoyed when we remembered that Jesus prayed not only for those whom he had chosen to be with him in the world, "but for them also who believe on him through their word." Once at a camp meeting many years ago, I awakened in the dead of night and heard an aged minister of Christ praying for me by name. The memory has often been an increase of strength; I believe that his prayer prevailed and still mediates sustaining power in my times of need. How much more, as we listen in upon the kneeling Master as he pours out his heart to the Father, and as good as names each one of us who through the apostolic word have believed on him, shall we be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man! How blessed it is also by this prayer to have the perplexing question of intercessory prayer resolved. That James exhorts, "Pray ye one for another,"[122] is encouraging; that Jesus bids us pray even "for those who despitefully use and persecute"[123] us is imperative; but to see him in the act of prevailing intercession for us and to read his words is to touch our hearts to prayer one for another.

Other prayers of Jesus are the Thanksgiving for the revelation of the Father to babes, which comes in close connection with the upbraiding of the cities by the sea;[124] the prayer of Thanksgiving at the tomb of Lazarus,[125] where again the interpretative hand of the beloved disciple may be discerned; the

prayer that raises the question of the cross when certain Greeks came, saying, "Sir, we would see Jesus";[126] the prayer that sobs out of the agony in Gethsemane and receives the immediate answer of angel ministries;[127] the prayers on the cross, two of the three being quotations from the Psalms.[128]

As small a portion as we have of the prayers of Jesus, whose whole life was conditioned by prayer, whose practice was to spend entire nights in prayer, and who often rose a great while before day in order that he might by prayer make ready for the stern demands of his ministry, possibly it would equal the proportion of his deeds and words that has been preserved in the Gospels.[129] Though all the prayers of Jesus are not preserved, his teaching upon prayer is rich and abundant. A whole philosophy of prayer could be based upon his simple declaration: "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him."[130]

Though occurring in a parable, which, however, may have been based upon a real incident, the contrasted prayers of the Pharisee and the publican have a place among the prayers of the New Testament. They are true exponents of character, as indeed is all prayer, if we can gain an insight into it; and the bringing together of a rejected and an accepted prayer affords a lesson framed with literary merit of unusual power.[131]

In the New Testament I have counted eighty prayers. We may pass from the prayers of Jesus, which ended on the cross with the commitment of his Spirit into the hands of the Father, by way of the short agonizing cry of the penitent thief: "Jesus, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom."[132] After the resurrection Jesus prays no more; he is the exalted Saviour, to whom it is appropriate to offer prayer. The time has come for the fulfillment of his word, "If ye shall ask anything in my name, that will I do."[133] The liturgical prayers of the Church to Christ are therefore no violation of the heavenly courtesies. Already to the thief on the cross Jesus had become the dispenser of the salvation that he was there purchasing for sinners. There await the student of New Testament prayers the chanted liturgies of the early Jerusalem Church as they continued from the day of the Ascension, through Pentecost to the outflowing of the missionary impulse into Syria and then, following the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, throughout the Roman Empire. They pray for direction of the lot by which a successor for Judas is to be selected;[134] they interpret the Pentecostal experience in the language of Joel, "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord the same shall be saved";[135] they continue in the prayers.[136] They lift their exulting voices in praise of God, the Maker of all things, by whom they have escaped the violence of the hierarchy, and ask him for additional

signs in the name of Jesus. The place is shaken under their fervent prayer, so that, filled anew with the Holy Spirit, they speak the word with all boldness, testifying with great power to the resurrection of Jesus.[137] They so organize the growing Christian community that the Apostles may give themselves to prayer and preaching.[138] Only after prayer do they lay hands on the deacons elect.[139] The martyr to the testimony of the resurrection of Jesus prays for his slayers, while the murderous shower falls upon him, and ends his ministry and his life with the prayer with which Jesus sealed his sacrifice on the cross, only substituting the name of Jesus as Lord: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."[140] After the Samaritans have received the gospel, the apostles pray in order that they may receive the Holy Spirit.[141]

The epoch-making event of the history of the early Church is given in the mission of Ananias, the devout Damascene, concerning Saul of Tarsus, a Pharisee well disciplined in the practice of his sect, of whom it is said as an epitomé of all the vast change that had occurred in his great soul: "Behold, he prayeth."[142] By the bedside of Dorcas Peter knelt and prayed and the dead revived.[143] It was at the hour of prayer that Cornelius was directed to send for Peter, and it was after prayer that Peter learned that "the middle wall of partition had been cast down and that he must open the door of the Church to the Gentiles."[144] While prayer was being

made in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, by many disciples, Peter was delivered from his death cell in Jerusalem.[145] After fasting and prayer the Church at Antioch sent Barnabas and Saul forth upon the first world-evangelizing mission, as the result of which the Church was lifted from the limits of a provincial organization into the status of the world-wide society of the saints of Jesus.[146] It was after the service of prayer in Pisidian Antioch and at Iconium that Paul and Barnabas spoke the final word to the unbelieving Jews.[147] The absence of prayer from the record of the Jerusalem council[148] is not proof that the period of compromise that the "decree" of James introduced was relatively prayerless, but one may suspect that it was; and if so, a warning that the holiest Apostles may lose power and make mistakes unless they "watch unto prayer."

From the time when Barnabas brought Saul from his retirement in Tarsus to Antioch[149] the main stream of New Testament interest coincides with the missionary labors of Paul. That stream obtains fullness and power in connection with the prayer life of Paul. Strangely turned from his course and directed by the Spirit of Jesus into the Roman colony of Philippi,[150] where there was at that time no synagogue, he sought the place of prayer by the riverside, whither devout Jews resorted, and there laid the foundation of the Church in Europe. In Philippi, while praying and singing

hymns in the stocks, he and his companion were delivered from prison.[151] At Miletus, following his valedictory to the Ephesian elders, sorrowing at his word that they should see his face no more, after commending them to God and the word of his grace, "he kneeled down and prayed with them all."[152] At Tyre, on the last lap of the journey to Jerusalem, he kneeled on the beach amidst the congregation and prayed before farewells were spoken.[153] He vindicates his course by recounting that soon after his conversion he was in the Temple praying when his marching orders came: "Depart: for I will send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles."[154] The angel visitant who assured Paul of the safety of all in the doomed ship came in answer to prayer: "Lo, God hath granted thee all them that sail with thee."[155] Amid the roaring of the storm about the devoted ship, Paul cheered the terrified ship's company and caused them to take food, and "having given thanks he brake bread and began to eat."[156] The prison life in Rome must have been rich in prayer, as the fragments in the Epistles of the period indicate:

> May God the Father grant you, according to the riches of his glory, that ye may be strengthened with power through his Spirit in the inward man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith; to the end that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of

> Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled unto all the fullness of God.
>
> Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be the glory in the church and in Christ Jesus unto all generations for ever and ever. Amen.[157]

Every Epistle of Paul begins and ends with a Benediction, not a fixed form, but an appropriate prayer, in the salutations mingling with the words of greeting to the Church.[158] But prayer springs spontaneously at almost any point in the argument of an Epistle. In Romans the mystery of the rejection of Israel and the calling of the Gentiles gives occasion to this beautiful soliloquy: "O the depth both of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God!"[159]

The "Epistle to the Hebrews," which is not an epistle, but a marvelous and eloquent treatise upon the supremacy of Christ over all who came before, is saturated with prayer. "Pray for us," entreats the writer, "for we are persuaded that we have a good conscience, desiring to live honorably in all things."[160] Hebrews contains a benediction prayer that is unsurpassed:

> Now the God of Peace, who brought again from the dead that great Shepherd of the sheep with the blood of an eternal covenant, even our Lord Jesus, make you perfect in everything to do his will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.[161]

Jude has a noble benediction that should be placed beside that in Hebrews:

> Now unto him that is able to guard you from stumbling, and to set you before the presence of his glory without blemish in exceeding joy, to the only God our Saviour, through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, and power, before all time, and now, and for evermore. Amen.[162]

Jude and Peter have the salutation and the benediction, like Paul.[163]

The book of Revelation makes a fitting climax to the prayers of the New Testament, beginning with a blessing "upon him who readeth, upon them that hear, and them that keep the things that are written in this final book of prophecy,"[164] which blends into a salutation from the Eternal, from the Seven Spirits that are before the throne and from Jesus Christ, and raises an ascription, "Unto him that loosed us from our sins by his blood; and he made us a kingdom and priests unto God and the Father."[165] This book is unique in the proportion of its contents that consists of direct messages from God. There are two entire chapters of messages from the risen Christ to the Churches and not a word of reply from the Churches. Then follow litanies and ascriptions and doxologies in heavenly terms. No other part of the Bible, unless it be the Psalms, has more greatly enriched the rituals of the Church. Here is the Ter-Sanctus, which has been included in the Communion Service:

"Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God, the Almighty
Who was and Who is, and Who is to come." [166]

Here is the ascription of creative power to God:

"Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God,
To receive the honor, and the glory, and the power:
For thou didst create all things, and because of thy
will they were, and were created." [167]

From under the altar comes the cry of the martyred saints, the cry of all who in ages of persecution have stood firm and loved not their own lives:

"How long, O Lord, the Holy and True,
Dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them
that dwell on the earth?" [168]

The most glorious music of the Church has been inspired by the ascription of the angels, who fall before the throne in the heavens and cry:

"Salvation unto our God, who sitteth upon the throne
and unto the Lamb.
Amen. Blessing and glory and wisdom
And thanksgiving and honor and power and might
Be unto our God for ever and ever." [169]

Following the anticipation of triumph, the four and twenty elders fall upon their faces and worship God, saying:

"We give thee thanks, O Lord God, the Almighty,
who art and who wast; because thou hast taken thy
great power, and didst reign." [170]

Here is the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb:

> Great and marvelous are thy works, O Lord God, the Almighty; righteous and true are thy ways, thou King of the ages. Who shall not fear, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy; for all the nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy righteous acts have been made manifest.[171]

The hallelujah breaks from heaven as Babylon falls and her smoke goes up forever. The hallelujah that follows comes, as it were, with the voice of many waters:

> Hallelujah, for the Lord God, the Almighty, reigneth. Let us rejoice and be exceeding glad, and let us give the glory unto him: for the marriage of the Lamb has come and his wife hath made herself ready.[172]

The prayer that precedes the Benediction is the conclusion. It is rightfully the conclusion of all prayer:

> "Amen: come, Lord Jesus."[173]

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LECTURE IV
WORSHIP IN MUSICAL PRAISE

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PRAYER was originally but a small part of the Jewish Temple service, but grew in proportion to the advance of spirituality and religious culture in the life and worship of the Jewish people. Of praise likewise there was but little, although a larger proportion and a more conspicuous element than prayer. Ritual sacrifice remained the chief element, although ritual praise and prayer continued to increase in relative importance until the time of our Lord. In the Christian Church praise early became and has ever remained a prominent part of the worship. There have been periods in which preaching dominated congregational worship, but such periods have never been long continued nor can they be taken as the normal expression of the worship life of a Christian congregation. Even sixteenth-century Independency, which affected contempt for singing and even for other parts of worship, could not resist a principle of worship that ever brings to fresh expression the impulse to praise God and finds a large part of religious satisfaction in singing "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."[174] The prophets of the eighth century deprecated sacrifice and called upon worshipers to praise God.

At the risk of seeming somewhat arbitrary, I will venture to differentiate praise as that part of the service of worship which is addressed to God through the use of the arts of poetry and music. We shall not have entered a new field, but one at least clearly defined. To analyze the prayers of the Bible into their several elements of confession, petition, vow, complaint, ascription, praise, thanksgiving, and profession, singling out the praise element for separate treatment, would be vivisection; for communion with God, however expressed, moves freely in the use of all these parts of prayer. Communion knows no rhetorical classification or modes, but is free even when following written forms, just as when moving spontaneously in the expression of a present and unrecorded experience. But we may properly recognize a distinct class of worship practices that are conditioned by the employment of the arts of poetry and music for the more perfect expression of their emotional content.

The very great importance of praise musically and poetically expressed arises from the consideration that in it, while we are moving in a spiritual realm in which exact terms fall short of adequately representing the mental content of the occasion, we are both giving expression to our own emotional state and adding to its intensity. Music deals with the emotions and is the vehicle of emotional expression. When unaccompanied by words, or lacking association of ideas with the music, one's reac-

tion is purely sensuous: when accompanied by words it is designed to represent the emotional collateral of the ideas embodied in the words. That religion, which lies so largely in the emotional tract, should demand music almost as insistently as a physiological organ does the exercise of its proper function, is inevitable; natural, one might say, if that somewhat ambiguous term be understood to include all normal and healthful phenomena of the soul.

Mere feeling, because it is nondescript, because it lies in a region that eludes analysis, and therefore lends itself easily to quite diverse motives, needs the regulative function of ideas that are above it. Feeling is a needful factor in motivation, but extremely dangerous when permitted to induce action without the regulative control of other powers of the soul. But when so associated the fullest satisfaction coincides with the nearest approach of which one is capable to the full-toned response of the soul to God in worship.

As the vehicle of feeling, music answers to a register of response more fundamental than thought. As in the lowlier forms of conscious life there is a double world of physical sensation and psychical feeling, so in the earlier stages of the self-conscious development of the soul feeling is a much stronger motive power than thinking. With evolving life the responses to the beautiful, the good, the true—the æsthetic, the ethical, and the intellectual—are

built up like rising levels in the mind and physiologically in the very structure of the brain.

Among the arts music alone makes its appeals through the ear. It is for this reason more closely related to the fundamental forms of life. Lower life develops sight and touch much more slowly than hearing. The auditory sense is only a specialization of the tactual. The dog responds to the voice of his master, although he cannot recognize his portrait. The auditory tract is lower in the brain than the optic, and both are beneath the level of reason and reflection. Ideas are most easily and effectively visualized; emotions, or states of feeling, can be expressed only by sound. Moods and feelings, not concepts, are the content of music. It is formal, but not representative. The meaning of the same words may be wholly changed by the tones and emphases with which they are uttered.

All art has part in the expression of the great religious motive—musical, pictorial, dramatic, and constructional. As for the purposes of symbolism the last serves best, so for the expression of pure feeling the first is supreme. A picture, a sculpture, a building, regarded as a work of art, is most effective as a symbol, save as by fixed association it recalls reality and summons to action the representative powers of the mind. A pure sensation, as of color, for example, may induce a reaction of pure feeling, absolutely without other content; but a musical phrase, while evoking a more intense

feeling, has also content, though not exact. This is because music possesses, in varying proportions, movement—fast or slow—elevation and depression —pitch—rhythm—the alternating ictus in sequences of seconds or thirds, which with syncope contain all possibilities of rhythm. The feelings of fear, desire, hope, confidence find appropriate movements of slowness or rapidity in music. So also does dramatic change from elation to depression correspond with the musical pitch and its variations in melodic form. The rhythm of the March, with its alternating pulses, and that of the Waltz, with its three-part stroke, or the syncope with its transfer of an accent, is each equally productive of its appropriate psychical correspondence.

Enough lies in these brief descriptions to prove the catholicity of music among the arts. When the aged F. J. Haydn was about to set out upon a journey to England, his pupil Mozart besought him not to attempt the journey, "for, see, Papa Haydn," said he, "you do not speak many foreign languages." To which the aged master of melody replied, "My art speaks all languages."

Haydn was right. But among the many languages that music speaks, she is most at home in the dialect of religion. She has spoken in the most sensual tones of the dance and in the erotic notes of the brothel. She has been a priestess and she has been a courtesan. She has reënforced the most powerful representations of the drama; also spoken

in purest sentiments of romantic love, and more uncertainly and but faintly in imitations of nature. She has driven men by her martial call by multitudes to give their lives for a cause; but she has been always most congenially employed when giving voice to religious experiences and has responded most quickly and joyfully to the touch of the Spirit of God. That religion cannot survive without emotion is as much as to say that religion cannot develop without the aid of music. Without expression in some form of art the impulses that are generated in religious consciousness cannot find ample and satisfying outlet. Religion must employ art for its life. Without religion art becomes degenerate. Let us keep in mind the caution that religion is not less dependent upon truth of belief and goodness in life for growth and expression than upon art. "Just as all peoples have loved music, so to the religionist music is the universally accepted art. Churches which are prejudiced against painting and sculpture and which have, seemingly, little appreciation of the importance of beautiful architecture, insist upon having good music. There is no need for argument by way of persuading even Protestants to utilize the art of music."[175]

The place of music among the æsthetic arts has been clearly enough indicated in the preceding description of its genetic and formal principles. We have understood its limitation to the expression of states of feeling and therefore its fitness as a vehicle

of religious expression. And yet the content of pure music cannot be strictly or formally religious at all because the same feeling may be appropriated by any one of a large class of ideas as its emotional coefficient. A composer for the *pianoforte* names his piece "Moonlight on the Hudson," let us say. But for the picture on the cover sheet, no one could possibly guess the association of the music with the conception; nevertheless, knowing the composer's idea, we can feel the congruity of the idea with the musical composition. But we could just as well associate the music with the thought of evening prayer; but neither a storm at sea nor a battle could by any possibility be associated with the stillness and purity and beauty of the scene with which the Music seems perfectly congruous.

If not ethical, religion is worse than nothing. Therefore music must be linked with motives to right action if it is to merit the appellation "the handmaid of religion." Indeed, it is the bane of all forms of art that thereby satisfactions have been produced apart from incentives to action and clear views of objective truth, upon which the religion of reality must rest. The lives of the musicians and the other artists, including the poets, do not contribute largely to the catalogue of saints. Feeling is a fearful and delusive substitute for action and offers false satisfactions that often deceive the wise and the good. In his Ideal Republic Plato had scant respect for poets and musicians and doubted

whether either could be good men. The religious use of music must therefore couple it with thought and moral incentive. This is exactly what the Biblical book of Psalms has done with surpassing fitness and power. It has called upon men to "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness," and has afforded the means of effecting this object. The Hebrews employed such art as the culture of the times had produced for the expression of the emotional content of the spiritual ideas and experiences that had been embodied in the lyric poetry of Israel, and thus they rescued their music from the debauchery of heathenism and made it a vehicle of the spiritual revelation of Jehovah and employed it in the production of a vigorous and true impression of the soul's experience under the impact of the Spirit of God.

Let us trace the process by which the threefold combination, or synthesis of action, of thought, of feeling, and of will is effected in the unity of the soul. We are studying the prayer of a great poet-lover of the Law of Jehovah: "Unite my heart to fear thy name." One is sitting in the pew of a church while the choir is singing to the accompaniment of a soft, rich harmony. The music soothes as David's lyre soothed the dark and troubled soul of Saul, the son of Kish. There is harmony with the blended tints of the windows and there is fitness in the worshipful attitude of the congregation. Presently one catches the words of the anthem:

"Come unto me, and I will refresh you. Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly; and ye shall find rest unto your souls." This is a sure word of promise by Jesus. Faith stands out amid the vicissitudes of life and the light breaks clear out of the cloud. The theological truth of the word is the same as if it had been read from the desk, but by its musical setting it is effectually impressed upon mind and heart. But the music and the words together constitute both spring and direction to the powers of choice: the heavy-laden soul has, in fact, by an act of the will cast his burden on the Lord. He rises from his place renewed and invigorated and triumphant over the circumstances and adversities of life and more distressing inward doubts and fears. A similar sequence of experiences may arise under the influence of any of the æsthetic arts. Imagining oneself still in the church, not now during the service, the sensuous effect of color is experienced as one gazes upon a pictured window. Out of the unformed state of feeling there arises the concept of a person as the colored lights reveal the faces in the window of the Virgin and Child. An emotion rises upon the threshold of consciousness in which the elements of moral beauty combine with the richness of the painted glass and the glow of the sunlight streaming through. The emotion may so reënforce motives of right action as to enable one to resist temptation or resolve upon a noble or generous action. Thus again the circle is completed

through another form of art wherein beauty and truth find this union with goodness.

> "Beauty, Truth, and Goodness are three sisters, friends of man,
> Dwelling together beneath one roof, and never can be separated without tears."[176]

In both our supposed cases the final step that saves and makes worth while the other two is the decision of the will, without which an emotional state is always fraught with moral danger; but that decision waits upon a definite thought content, which music alone never possesses. It has just been observed that this element in the religious use of music was supplied in the development of the cultus of Israel by the Psalms and other inspired poetry. We may further see the advantage of this combination for the loftiest and purest worship.

Among the arts music and poetry are closest of kin. Both reach the mind through the organ of hearing and both possess in varying proportion the same characters, except that poetry adds the power of conveying ideas. Poetry, like music, is essentially emotional. It is only when feeling is strong and struggling for an expressive outlet, for which ordinary forms of utterance are inadequate, in association with ideas and memories, that poetic form is invoked instead of the prose forms of narrative and dissertation. One early demand for poetic utterance was the triumphal mood, such as followed the

Exodus and, later, Israel's victory over the Canaanites by Kishon. The shrill voices of women chanting in improvised, rhythmic verse increased the emotional intensity and instruments of percussion marked the rhythm, in which the crowd participated by the clapping of hands. Another primitive demand for poetic form came through sorrow, and we have the dirge and the elegy. To the latter class belongs the beautiful elegy of David over Saul and Jonathan.[177] It was designed to teach the Israelites the use of adversity.[178] In a lighter mood, but equally sensitive to beauty, there would be wedding songs, such as compose the Song of Solomon. These three poetic motives give us the forms that poetry and music have in common. In both we have the rhythm, or recurring stress in various combinations, which may all be reduced to the principles of musical accent, alternate, triptych, or syncopated, with their many possible combinations. Both alliteration and syllabic quantity afford a substitute for the rhythm of accent. The war song and the marriage song would require different rhythmic treatment. In the dirge the movement would be slow, in the marriage song faster. We have also pitch in poetry, though neither so varied nor so accurately scaled as in music. In Hebrew poetry the rhythm is of twofold character: its syllabic accent, or ictus, corresponds with the musical accent, or, rather, in primitive music controls it; its rhythm

of parallelism of thought may be matched by the transposition or repetition of melodic phrases. In fact, the oldest music of which we have any knowledge to which the Psalms have been sung embodies the principle of coincidence of verbal and musical accent. In the Plainsong, or Gregorian music, there is no other rhythm than that of the poetic or literary form. The English chant, with which most of us are familiar, which originated in the post-Reformation period, shows clearly the influence of this parallelism, and in the Prayer Book version of the Psalms a colon still divides each verse of the Psalm into two parts to fit the repetition of the thought in slightly varied melody.

Now we may form some conception of what must have been the emotional power of the Psalms and other lyric poetry of Israel as sung to melodies that in rhythm, pitch, and movement exactly fitted the poetic content and form. That is what our modern scientific music does only approximately. Let us remember that in the Psalms we are dealing with the most profoundly, universally, and comprehensively spiritual poetry in existence; and all that may be said of the emotional effectiveness of Hebrew poetry as accompanied by appropriate music receives emphasis from the essentially religious character of this poetry. There is also the wider gamut of religious thought to be taken into consideration as we advance from the earlier and simpler songs of trust—such as,

"Jehovah is my shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures;
He leadeth me beside still waters,"[179]

to the *problemata mundi* that were raised by Israel's calamities; such as—

"Truly God is good to Israel,
Even to such as are pure in heart.
But as for me, my feet were almost gone;
My steps had well-nigh slipped.
For I was envious at the arrogant,
When I saw the prosperity of the wicked.
. . . . . .
Therefore his people return hither:
And waters of a full cup are drained by them.
And they say, How doth God know?
And Is there knowledge in the Most High?"[180]

There is an equal range of religious experience in the Hebrew Psalms, extending from the profoundest penitence—

"Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness:
According to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions,"[181]

to the calm assurance of sins forgiven—

"Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.
Blessed is the man unto whom Jehovah imputeth not iniquity."[182]

Jesus's last and most sacred hour with his disciples in the upper chamber in Jerusalem witnessed his sanction of the worship value of the Psalms, when he sung the Hallel[183] with them. His one

moment of eclipse (if it was such) on the cross found words in the Psalms—

"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"[184]

and he ended his atoning life with the words of another Psalm—

"Into thy hands I commend my spirit."[185]

The Christian Church was born singing Psalms of praise to God and proving its gospel true by citations from these prophetic praises of Israel. "The Psalms are a collection of liturgical forms in which, 'in trouble and in joy,' the Jewish Church embodied its praiseful prayers and its prayerful praises."[186]

Charles Foster Kent thus descants upon the peculiar emotional force of Hebrew poetry:

> As a rule it is highly subjective in content, but objective and concrete in its form of expression. The inner feelings of the poet are vividly pictured by means of illustrations drawn from the realm of nature or from common physical experiences. The picturesque Hebrew language, in which each word suggests a familiar feeling or picture or action, lent itself readily to the poet's use. The lack of abstract terms also compelled him to express himself concretely. Expressing his emotions in the terms of physical sensations, the Hebrew poet, with true psychologic skill, was able to arouse the same emotions in the minds of his hearers. These sensations were elemental and therefore limited to no race or age. The result is that to-day, in reading the Psalms, we not only grasp the thought of the Psalmist, but also feel with him the fear or the passion or the joy that stirred his soul as he wrote. Hebrew poetry is also character-

> ized by spontaneity and earnestness. . . . The attention of the reader is quickly attracted and constantly held by the sheer power of the poet's earnestness. . . . The Hebrew poets are always simple, but rarely, if ever, descend to the trite and commonplace. . . . They dramatically express, in language simple, vivid, and concrete, the vital experiences shared by all mankind. Above all, they are inspired by a noble, yet practical moral purpose that enables them to satisfy elemental needs. It is not strange that Hebrew poetry has attracted and held the attention of all classes as no other literature known to man.[187]

The Psalms were used principally, almost exclusively, as liturgical compositions with music. The titles in Hebrew and Greek indicate this use. "The Praises of Israel," a title which we owe to the LXX,[188] "gives a truthful description of the poems in this book, which are, in fact, songs or poems set to music and, partly at least, to the music of stringed instruments, for use in the Temple and the synagogue. In like manner *Psalterion* is a metaphorical expression for a collection of such songs or poems."[189] The Hebrew title "Sephear Thealim," Volume of Hymns, is sufficiently reproduced in a modern title *Lyra Davidis*.[190]

The music to which the Psalms were sung in Temple and synagogue cannot be recovered with certainty. So far as we know there was no system of notation in use, and a melody even more easily than a poem could be corrupted through vocal transmission. But effective music there was, which many students believe to have been the original

of the medieval Plainsong, which was systemized by Ambrose of Milan in the fourth and by Gregory the Great in the seventh centuries. Melodies composed upon these ancient scales are still in use and are prescribed by authority in the Roman Church. Psalms and Antiphons are sung to them. Their use in the English Church has been resumed to some extent since the Catholic revival that ensued upon the Tractarian movement.

The mentioning of Gregorian music brings up an intricate subject, but one of very great importance and interest to the student of worship practices in the Christian Church. A few sentences must suffice for what could well require a whole lecture; and even then we should remain under some necessary uncertainties about a subject upon which scientific musicians are not in agreement. A musical scale is a succession of notes in ascending or descending pitch, each following its predecessor in a fixed variation of pitch. We may represent it by the device of a stair of eight steps in the following order for the modern diatonic major scale: Step, step, half step, step, step, step, half step, with the octave completing it. In modern music there is another scale in which the interval of the third, instead of being a whole step, is a half step. We call it *minor*. In this ancient music there were eight scales in actual use, each with a different succession of intervals, or steps. They can be written by the aid of accidentals in modern musical notation, but modern music

cannot be written in the Gregorian scales. Unaccustomed to this tonal system, we moderns may fail to appreciate the many beautiful melodies that have been composed upon them and used for centuries in the Catholic Church. I confess that I am one who finds it difficult to revert with real pleasure to the ancient music, how ancient, alas! we can only guess. Our best conjecture is that the earliest form of these tones afforded the musical basis of the singing of the Pslams; that they are the lineal descendants of the Temple music of ancient Judaism. They may have been the foundation of the melody upon which Jesus and the Twelve sang the Hallel "on the same night that he was betrayed."

Musical instruments chiefly of the stringed and the percussion type were used, not so much as accompaniment as to afford a background of musical sound. Harmony was undeveloped and to this day the ancient melodies are sung in unison in the Roman Church, though often with organ accompaniment in harmony.

Both the structure of the melodies and the rhythm of the poetry suggest antiphonal, or responsive, singing of the Psalms, such as is heard in liturgical churches to-day. It has an effect that may be likened to the rise and fall of the billows of the ocean in rhythmic sequence. Another form of singing was the verse and the refrain; a type that has analogies to the Spirituals as sung by American Negroes and their predecessors of the early Meth-

odist camp meeting type. A theme is given out and answered by a semi-chorus. This is followed by a parallel or an elaboration of the theme, and this by a full chorus. The following arrangement will serve as an illustration:

> *Theme.* O give thanks unto Jehovah, for he is good.
> *Semi-chorus.* For his loving-kindness endureth forever.
> (And so forth.)
> *Chorus.* O that men would praise Jehovah for his loving-kindness,
> And for his wonderful works to the children of men![191]

From the second Temple and the synagogue the "Book of the Praises of Israel" descended to the nascent Christian Church. While in Christian use the Psalms acquired interpretations, and what may be called extensions of application, that grew out of the more explicit and more developed conceptions of the gospel, they needed only to preserve their own religious vitality and truth to fit them for the synaxis as for the synagogue. In our modern worship we suppose we are Christianizing the Psalms by concluding the portion read with the *Gloria Patri.* This may be a useful liturgical device, but it is unnecessary. The Psalms are themselves a witness to Christ.[192] And yet, our earliest extra-Biblical account of Christian worship (A.D. 112) intimates that our magnificent *Gloria* had some sort of predecessor to which the Roman Pliny referred when writing to Trajan that, on their coming together, the Christians "sang a hymn of praise to

Christ as God." It is probable that their love and veneration for Jesus as Christ caused them to put in place of the ancient Benediction of the Temple worship a Doxology to Christ as the conclusion to their psalm, or "hymn of praise."[193]

Selections from the Psalms

As in the lecture on Prayer, I will cite a few representative Psalms in illustration of the principles that have been laid down in the preceding parts of this lecture. Unfortunately, I cannot sing them to the Gregorian melodies and in the Latin tongue, which have for centuries, as a holy Nazarite, been consecrated to their liturgical use. There is neither time nor occasion for theological comment; but we of the Western habit of thought will do well always to keep in mind the contrast between our individualism and the Hebrew corporate conception of life. Much that Wesley, no doubt wisely, excluded from his recension of the Psalter for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, as "unfit for the mouths of a Christian congregation," would appear in a different light if we could enter into the corporate feeling of the singers of ancient Israel. From the same point of view we should have to reconcile with the teaching of Jesus some portions of the book of Revelation. That praises should comprehend so much that is in a mood not only different from joy, but its very reverse, must be accounted for by remembering the

tenacious faith of the ancient Hebrews that, whatever the present distress of Jehovah's people, the outcome would be their complete vindication.

> "Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
> And why art thou disquieted within me?
> Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him
> For the help of his countenance."[194]

There is always a sub-current of belief in God's providence and grace that anticipates the turning of ashes into beauty and the putting off the spirit of heaviness for the garment of praise.

> "Jehovah is in his holy temple;
> Jehovah, his throne is in heaven;
> His eyes behold, his eyelids try
> The children of men."[195]

Of course the breadth and universality that are to be found throughout the Psalter call in question the Davidic authorship of all but a few of these poems of worship; but certainly the tradition has a firm foundation that justifies the modern title "Harp of David." Our examples will be taken mainly from the more strongly liturgical Psalms and the version chosen for quotation is the American Standard Revised.[196]

The Decalogue of the Psalter is the following "description of a citizen of Zion":

> "Jehovah, who shall sojourn in thy tabernacle?
> Who shall dwell in thy holy hill?
> He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness,
> And speaketh truth in his heart;
> He that slandereth not with his tongue,

Nor doeth evil to his friend,
Nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor;
In whose eyes a reprobate is despised,
But who honoreth them that fear Jehovah;
He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not;
He that putteth not out his money to interest,
Nor taketh reward against the innocent.
He that doeth these things shall never be moved."[197]

The preservation of Psalm 18 in Second Samuel[198] indicates that it is one of David's, and it may be taken as the best specimen of that class of psalms that deal with the motive of Jehovah's approval and support of the Messiah King.

"I love thee, O Jehovah, my strength.
Jehovah is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer;
My God, my rock, in whom I will take refuge.
. . . . . .
Great deliverance giveth he to his king,
And showeth loving-kindness to his anointed,
To David, and to his seed, forevermore."[199]

The hymn of complaint reaches its most powerful appeal in the cry of anguish, and then changes with dramatic suddenness to the song of praise, in the twenty-second psalm, in which our Lord voiced his vicarious suffering,[200] and I believe also, his redeeming triumph on the cross. The Psalm comes out of the same atmosphere and conditions with Isaiah 52 and 53.

The ritual use of Psalm 24 was originally on some great occasion of Temple dedication, perhaps the rededication of the Second Temple, in 516 B.C. It marks a conception of the kingship in Israel in

which no longer David and his posterity, but Jehovah himself is king, and as such, he is the King of Glory and the law of his kingdom is purity and sincerity.

"The earth is Jehovah's, and the fullness thereof;
The world, and they that dwell therein.
For he hath founded it upon the seas,
And established it upon the floods.
Who shall ascend into the hill of Jehovah?
And who shall stand in his holy place?
He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart;
Who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity,
Nor sworn deceitfully."

. . . . . .

Procession.

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors:
And the King of glory will come in."

Response.

"Who is the King of glory?"

Procession.

"Jehovah strong and mighty,
Jehovah mighty in battle,

. . . . . .

He is the King of glory."[201]

The Psalms of Jehovah's rulership advance to the conception of world rule, as in the forty-seventh and ninety-third; but I quote from the ninety-fifth because, with the supremacy of Jehovah as Creator and Ruler, his close relation to his people is asserted. That this Psalm is a part of the order for Morning Prayer in the English Liturgy is testimony to its liturgical fitness.

"O come, let us sing unto Jehovah;
Let us make a joyful noise unto the rock of our salvation.
Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving;
Let us make a joyful noise unto him with psalms.
. . . . . .
O come, let us worship and bow down;
Let us kneel before Jehovah our Maker:
For he is our God,
And we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand." [202]

The Psalms more specifically of praise and thanksgiving constitute more than one-third of the whole collection; and most of these are strongly liturgical. In all the rest, except the eighty-eighth, there is an element of praise. That lyric, beginning with discouragement and ending with hopelessness of the abandoned, is hard to account for in such a collection—unless it should be there for the benefit of some saint whose skies are all dark and who will find a ray of light in the thought that others have been in shadows as deep.

"Lover and friend hast thou put far from me,
And mine acquaintance into darkness." [203]

In considering this class of songs of praise and thanksgiving I will quote Charles Foster Kent's description:

> The distinction between Psalms of praise and thanksgiving and those of adoration and trust is not always clearly drawn. Although they are closely related there is a fundamental difference. The Psalms of adoration voice the feelings of the psalmists as they contemplate

the gracious character of Jehovah, revealed in the life of the nation, in nature and in his care for mankind; while the Psalms of praise and thanksgiving express the gratitude which the individual or nation felt for definite services performed by Jehovah in their behalf.[204]

In the Order for Evening Prayer of the English Church there are three beautiful liturgical Psalms that well cover the whole round of Thanksgiving and Praise.

Verse.

"It is a good thing to give thanks unto Jehovah,
And to sing praises unto thy name, O Most High;
To show forth thy loving-kindness in the morning,
And thy faithfulness every night,
With an instrument of ten strings and with the psaltery;
With a solemn sound upon the harp.
For thou, Jehovah, hast made me glad through thy work:
I will triumph in the works of thy hands."[205]

Verse.

"God be merciful unto us, and bless us,
And cause his face to shine upon us;
That thy way may be known upon earth,
Thy salvation among all nations."

Chorus.

"Let the peoples praise thee, O God;
Let all the peoples praise thee."

. . . . . .

Verse.

"O let the nations be glad and sing for joy;
For thou wilt judge the peoples with equity,
And govern the nations upon earth."

Chorus.

"Let the peoples praise thee, O God;
Let all the peoples praise thee." [206]

"Bless Jehovah, O my soul;
And all that is within me, bless his holy name.
Bless Jehovah, O my soul,
And forget not all his benefits:
Who forgiveth all thine iniquities;
Who healeth all thy diseases;
Who redeemeth thy life from destruction;
Who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercies;
Who satisfieth thy desire with good things,
So that thy youth is renewed like the eagle." [207]

A dominant motive of many of the later Psalms is thanksgiving for the house of God and its situation upon Mount Zion. Of this class are the Pilgrim Songs, and in singing them travelers from all parts of the *Diaspora* refreshed their spirits by the way as they moved in bands toward the place to be desired above all the earth. One of these Pilgrim Songs is a favorite anthem even in Protestant Churches that manifest little care for the beauties and solemnities of worship:

"How amiable (beloved) are thy tabernacles,
O Jehovah of hosts!
My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of Jehovah;
My heart and my flesh cry out unto the living God.
. . . . . .
Blessed are they that dwell in thy house:
They will be still praising thee." [208]

The commemoration of personal experiences of deliverance by the bringing of votive offerings into the Temple called for Psalms of self-dedication and gratitude, such as the one hundred and sixteenth, which occupied an important place in the popular worship, as it does to-day among Christians whose hearts have been stirred afresh by the new mercies of the Lord:

"I love Jehovah, because he heareth my voice and my supplications.
Because he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live.

. . . . . .

I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving,
And will call upon the name of Jehovah.
I will pay my vows unto Jehovah,
Yea, in the presence of all his people,
In the courts of Jehovah's house,
In the midst of thee, O Jerusalem.
Hallelujah." [209]

Let us imagine what must have been the effect in the Temple worship of the antiphonal singing of the twenty-six times repeated and slightly varied call—

"O give thanks unto Jehovah, for he is good,"

and the as-often-repeated refrain—

"For his loving-kindness endureth forever." [210]

An important liturgical part of the Temple worship was the Benediction, with which each of the first four divisions of the Psalms concludes. It

was this that the multitudes in the Temple courts awaited as the aged Zacharias came forth from ministering at the altar of incense, stricken dumb after the vision of the angel who had foretold the birth of John:

"Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel,
Who only doeth wondrous things;
And blessed be his glorious name forever;
And let the whole earth be filled with his glory.
Amen, and Amen."[211]

And the "Book of the Praises of Israel" comes to its grand climax with the great Doxology—

"Praise ye Jehovah.
Praise God in his sanctuary:
Praise him in the firmament of his power.
Praise him for his mighty acts:
Praise him according to his excellent greatness.
Praise him with trumpet sound;
Praise him with psaltery and harp.
Praise him with timbrel and dance:
Praise him with stringed instruments and pipe.
Praise him with loud cymbals:
Praise him with high-sounding cymbals.
Let everything that hath breath praise Jehovah.
Praise ye Jehovah."[212]

Hymns of the Christian Church

The old Pascha passed away with the singing of the Hallel by Jesus and the Twelve. The new institution was early baptized in singing songs of praise from the same collection of the Praises of Israel. "The Epistles of Paul are full of the echo

of 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs,'" and there may be in them quotations from early Christian hymns; for example:

"Awake, thou that sleepest,
And arise from the dead,
And Christ shall give thee light."

"He who was manifested in the flesh,
Justified in the spirit,
Seen of angels,
Preached among the nations,
Believed on in the world,
Received up in glory."

"If we died with him,
We shall also live with him:
If we endure, we shall also reign with him:
If we shall deny him,
He also will deny us;
If we are faithless,
He abideth faithful."[213]

Such was the power and comfort of the musical praise of the early Christian Church that by it Paul and Silas conquered the gloom of the midnight prison and endured the harshness of the stocks by "praying and singing hymns unto God."[214] James's prescriptions for pain and for joy show that in private use the Psalter was as good for the Christian as for the Jew.[215]

In the Jewish-Christian community the synagogue worship, with its readings from the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms, was taken over, and the simple community meal and the breaking of

bread was observed often, not only once a year like the receding Passover. But soon after the year of our Lord 45 the Christian center passed from Jerusalem to Antioch, and thence, as the result of the preaching of Paul, through Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, Rome, and unto far-off Spain, Gaul, and Britain. The new Christian use appears in a letter of Pliny, the Governor of Bithynia, to Trajan, reporting the worship of an obscure handful of Asiatic Christians, who assembled before dawn on the first day of the week, and "sang antiphonally a hymn to Christ as God."

EARLY GREEK HYMNODY

The earliest Christian hymn of which we possess any certain knowledge came from Syria and is still used in the evening service of the Orthodox (Greek) Church. In translation by John Keble, it has been brought into English hymnody.

Hail Gladdening Light (*Phos Hilaron Hagias Doxes*)

Hail gladdening light of his pure glory poured,
Who is the immortal Father, heavenly, blest,
Holiest of holies, Jesus Christ, our Lord.[216]

Among the priceless contributions to the forms of worship are two other hymns of very early origin: Glory be to God on High (Doxa in Upsistois), a part of the English Communion; and the Trishagion in its original form—

Holy God

Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal,
Have mercy upon us.[217]

A period of great productivity of hymns had its beginning in the efforts of a heretic of the fourth century to propagate his teachings by means of hymns. The great Syrian Ephraem composed orthodox hymns, and thus beat the devil with his own weapons.

Two hymns are quoted as representative of the final school of Greek Hymnody.

Midnight Hymn (*Idou, ho Numphios Erxetai*)

"Behold the Bridegroom draweth nigh;"
Hear ye the oft-repeated cry?
Go forth into the midnight dim;
For bless'd are they whom he shall find
With ready heart and watchful mind;
Go forth, my soul, to Him.

Evening Hymn (*Ten hemeran dielthon*)

"Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death." (Ps. 13: 3.)

The day is past and over;
All thanks, O Lord, to thee.
I pray thee now that sinless
The hours of dark may be:
O Jesus, keep me in thy sight
And guard me through the coming night.[218]

LATIN HYMNODY

By the time of the beginnings of Latin Hymnody primitive Christianity had passed away and the Catholic Church of the fourth century, with its elaborate ritual and growing calendar and celibate priesthood, had become the form of Christianity

in the West. We shall find a corresponding development in the hymns. The ancient Hebrew forms have wholly passed away, and the hymn is typically composed of four-line iambic stanzas. To Ambrose of Milan is due the credit of having laid the foundation of the hymnody of the West. The Christmas hymn, "*Veni, Redemptor Gentium*," is full of the wonder of the Virgin birth:

> "O come, Redeemer of the earth,
> Show to the world thy virgin birth;
> Let age to age the wonder tell;
> Such birth, O God, becomes thee well." [219]

The growth of monasticism was chiefly responsible for the introduction of hymns into the Roman use. The seven hours of prayer, as appointed by Benedict, had each its appropriate hymns. A manuscript Hymnal containing the Psalter, several canticles, including *Benedicite, Benedictus, Magnificat*, and three hymns—*Splendor Paternæ, gloriæ, Deus Crator omnium*, and *Rex æternæ domine*—probably written in Augustine's Canterbury early in the eighth century, is extant.[220]

The elaborations of monastic offices indicate the growth of the *ex opere* theory of merit, and prove the serious business of convent life to have been the cultivation of worship and the disposition of time by a schedule of hours of prayer. Originally there were three hours, and these were elaborated into seven hours of daily prayer: The Vigil, or Nocturne, later called Mattins; the morning service, called

Mattins–Lauds; Prime, coming between Mattins and Terce; the Lesser Hours, Terce, Sext, None, respectively at nine, twelve, and three o'clock; Vespers (in English use, Evensong); and Compline, which was used as a preparation for going to bed, as Prime was as a preparation for the day's work. Psalms, hymns, and lessons were prescribed for each of the Hours, with special selections for Eastertide, and for other seasons and holydays as the Calendar grew. At this point we may anticipate later developments by observing that two streams of worship practice are henceforth to be distinguished, of which the Breviary and the Missal are distinctive in Western Christianity. From the former the English reformed order for Morning and Evening Prayer is derived; from the latter the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, according to the English reformed rite, which displaced the Roman Mass. Our present interest is in the use of hymns in the monastic practice, while in the Mass they scarcely found a place. An example from the Canterbury Hymnal of the tenth century follows:

Salvator Mundi

O Saviour of the World, we pray,
As thou hast saved us through the day,
Now in the coming night defend
And save us alway to the end.

. . . . . .

O Lord, the Virgin-born, to thee
Eternal praise and glory be,
Whom with the Father we adore
Forever and forevermore.[221]

From the Medieval period a great wealth of hymns has become available for our modern hymn-books, chiefly through the translations of that pioneer liturgiologist, John Mason Neale. Of this class is the processional, by Theodulph of Orleans, early in the ninth century,

"All glory, laud, and honor,
To thee, Redeemer, King,
To whom the lips of children
Made sweet hosannas ring.

Thou art the King of Israel,
Thou David's royal Son,
Who in the Lord's name cometh,
The King and Blessed One." [222]

So also the adoration, by a Benedictine Abbess,

"Jesus! the very thought of thee
With sweetness fills the breast," [223]

the "Stabat Mater dolorosa,"

"At the cross her station keeping,
Stood the mournful mother weeping" [224]—

and the *Dies Iræ*,[225] which in Dean Stanley's translation is found in the Methodist Hymnal, but never used.

The composition of Latin hymns for the Roman Breviaries, many of them said to be of superior merit, went on after the Protestant Reformation. One of these, by Charles Coffin, Rector of the University of Paris (1676–1749), is simple, beautiful, and popular in English Hymnody:

Victis sibi cognomina

Conquering kings their titles take
From the foes they captive make:
Jesus, by a nobler deed,
From the thousands he hath freed.

Yes: none other name is given
Unto mortals under heaven,
Which can make the dead arise,
And exalt them to the skies.

That which Christ so hardly wrought,
That which he so dearly bought,
That salvation, brethren, say,
Shall we madly cast away?

Rather, gladly for that Name
Bear the cross, endure the shame;
Joyfully for him to die
Is not death, but victory.

Jesus, who dost condescend
To be called the sinner's Friend,
Hear us, as to thee we pray,
Glorying in thy Name to-day.

Glory to the Father be,
Glory, Holy Son, to thee,
Glory to the Holy Ghost,
From the Saints and Angel-host.[226]

Of the hymns of the Counter-Reformation that have won the hearts of modern Christians none has a stronger appeal than this by the Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier:

O Deus, Ego Amo Te

My God, I love thee; not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor yet because who love thee not
Are lost eternally.

Thou, O my Jesus, thou didst me
Upon the cross embrace;
For me didst bear the nails and spear,
And manifold disgrace.

. . . . . .

So do I love thee, and will love,
Who such a love hast showed,
Only because thou art my King,
Because thou art my God.[227]

Best known and most frequently used, coming from the midst of the eighteenth century, is the great Christmas Hymn, translated by F. Oakley into English in 1841. It is medieval in type, though so much later in time:

Adeste, Fideles

O come, all ye faithful,
Joyful and triumphant,
O come ye, O come ye to Bethlehem;
Come and behold him
Born the King of Angels;
O come, let us adore him, Christ the Lord.[228]

We shall see presently what is our debt to German hymnody, but in connection with hymns of the later Latin period I prefer at this point to quote from P. Gerhardt's translation of the Latin hymn, "*Salve, caput cruentatum,*" translated into English from the German by Sir Henry Baker:

O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden

O Sacred Head, surrounded
By crown of piercing thorn!
O bleeding Head, so wounded,
So shamed, and put to scorn!
Death's pallid hue comes o'er thee,
The glow of life decays,
Yet Angel-hosts adore thee,
And tremble as they gaze.

In this, thy bitter passion,
Good Shepherd, think of me
With thy most sweet compassion,
Unworthy though I be:
Beneath thy cross abiding
Forever would I rest,
In thy dear love confiding,
And with thy presence blest.[229]

HYMNS OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION

We might easily and profitably employ in the study of Hymns a longer period than is accorded this entire series of lectures, in which Hymns can be only a sub-topic. It is with sincere regret that I leave the thesaurus of medieval and later and better Latin hymns to move on to another class of hymns, closely following in time, but removed in thought by vast reaches from the ancient Catholic worship. Almost abruptly in the beginning of the sixteenth century the Protestant Reformation comes upon us. The pre-Reformation Protestants, such as Wycliffe's Lollards, and the Vaudois, had been crushed under the iron hand of Papal Rome. Huss had been burned at the stake a hundred years

before Luther nailed his theses against Indulgences upon the church door at Wittenberg. Luther burst forth, as irresistible as an avalanche, with his proclamation of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, and called Christians back to the Holy Scriptures as the fountain ample and undefiled of spiritual truth, the foundation of the faith of Christians. Lines that bounded the geographical regions in which, on the one hand, the teachings of Augsburg and Geneva, and on the other, the decrees of the Council of Trent, have scarcely changed, although a mighty Protestant continent has arisen in the new world. On both sides of the boundary the distinctive systems of Catholicism and Protestantism have continued to develop in harmony with their organizing principles. The worship practices of Rome have changed little; Protestantism has been developing worship practices that are congruous with its doctrinal and historic origins. We proceed to a brief study of Protestant hymns, a rich and edifying field, but one that cannot be thoroughly surveyed within our limits. Let us face in advance the condition that will necessitate omitting altogether some attractive and important types of hymns and will admit of our quoting but briefly and in fragments from the epoch-making classes of English and German Protestant hymns.

To Germany we must go as the source of the Reformation, and to Luther as the great apostle of

the movement, for the hymns that above all others sound both the battle call of Protestantism and the note of popular worship, which, from the first, was to become a mighty source of strength in the movement. A note was made of the service rendered by rhythmic hymns in the doctrinal controversies of the fourth century, when theologians gave currency to their polemics by means of the singing of didactic hymns. Protestantism did the same thing, but at first not so deliberately, when hymns were the spontaneous upgushing of the newly emancipated spiritual life; and yet Luther was at pains to preserve, in both the German Mass and the occasional offices of the Protestant Church, much of the older music, changing only the words. After repudiating what he calls in almost violent words "Popish idolatry," he says: "They have noble music, especially in the abbeys and parish churches, and to adorn most vile and idolatrous words. Wherefore we have undressed these idolatrous, lifeless, crazy words, stripping off the noble music, and putting it upon the living, holy Word of God wherewith to sing, praise, and honor the same, that so the beautiful ornament of music, brought back to its right use, may serve its blessed Maker and his Christian people."[230]

The radical change in the conception of the Church that Lutheran hymnology registered is described by Daubigne:

> The Church was no longer composed of priests and monks: it was now the congregation of believers. All were to take part in worship, and the chanting of the clergy was to be succeeded by the psalmody of the people. Luther, accordingly, in translating the Psalms, thought of adapting them to be sung by the Church. . . . From Luther's time the people sang; the Bible inspired their songs. . . . Hence the revival of hymns in the Sixteenth Century, such as used to cheer the martyrs in their sufferings during the First, Second, and Third.[231]

The battle hymn of the Reformation, both words and music by Luther, judged by its effects, is the most powerful piece of choral music known. Says Duffield:

> It is Luther in song. It has all his ruggedness, his trust, his majestic courage. Many are its interesting and inspiring associations. Probably it has had more English translations than any other hymn.[232]

But in order of thought, another hymn of Luther's, which is also of earlier date, should be first quoted because of its emphasis upon the new conception of Christian experience; it is the story in song of the salvation of a helpless sinner through Christ's grace. It has parallels to John Newton's famous autobiographical hymn, beginning, "I saw one hanging on a tree."

Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein

Dear Christians, one and all rejoice,
With exultation springing,
And with united heart and voice
And holy rapture singing,

Proclaim the wonders God hath done,
How his right arm the victory won;
Right dearly hath it cost him.
. . . . . .
God saw, in his eternal grace,
My sorrow out of measure;
He thought upon his tenderness—
To save was his good pleasure.
He turned to me a Father's heart—
Not small the cost—to heal my smart
He gave his best and dearest.[233]

Luther's battle hymn, the Marseillaise of the Reformation, has never been popular or useful among English-speaking Christians, although its spirit and form have been perfectly perserved in excellent translations, and its noble music has inspired and lent its theme to the genius of Sebastian Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Meyerbeer. At random I choose for quotation the version in the Methodist Hymnal, by Frederick H. Hedge:

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott
Deus noster refugium et virtus. (Ps. 46.)

A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing:
Our helper he, amid the flood
Of mortal ills prevailing.
For still our ancient foe
Doth seek to work us woe;
His craft and power are great,
And moved by cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.[234]

More fruitful than even the dayspring of the Reformation in Germany was the period of the

horrors of the Thirty Years' War, when at least a hundred poet-singers made rich contributions to the choral worship of the Lutheran Church. A hymn composed toward the conclusion of this period of pitiless suffering from poverty, battle, and, at last, plague (1648), by Martin Rinkart, I quote in Miss Winkworth's translation as it appears in the Methodist Hymnal:

Nun danket Alle Gott

Now thank we all our God
With hearts and hands and voices,
Who wondrous things hath done,
In whom his world rejoices;
Who, from our mother's arms,
Hath blessed us on our way
With countless gifts of love,
And still is ours to-day.

O may this bounteous God,
Through all our life be near us,
With ever joyful hearts
And blessèd peace to cheer us;
And keep us in his grace,
And guide us when perplexed,
And free us from all ills
In this world and the next.[235]

ENGLISH REFORMATION HYMNS

Unlike the German reformed Church, the English reformed Church of the sixteenth century made little or no use of rhythmic hymns, but preserved in incomparable translations some of the great canticles from the Roman Breviary and Missal.

From the Morning and the Evening Service of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI almost every vestige of Romanism was eliminated and the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, was thoroughly purged of the last remnant of Romish superstition; but the place of the ancient hymns and canticles was largely held by translations; and many of these are still staples in English Protestant worship. Coverdale's "Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs" (1539) attempted but failed to import Lutheran hymnody into English Reformed worship. In England, France, and Switzerland the place of hymns, which from the beginning was so important in the German Reformation, was supplied by metrical versions of the Psalms. I resist the impulse to offer an explanation of this fact. In preparing a metrical version of the Psalter for public worship the French poet Clement Marot, *valet de chambre* to Francis I, surpassed his contemporaries. "The frivolous poet turned serious" and produced fifty translations, which got hold of court and populace alike, with the result that he had to flee from Papal persecutions and take refuge in Geneva.

Before the theological reform in England, while Henry VIII was still living, a good Catholic, but a poor Papist, Thomas Sternhold, with less literary skill than Marot, but with greater religious enthusiasm, started upon the task of rendering the Psalms into metrical verse. A year after Sternhold's death

(1551) John Hopkins began to make additions to the versions of Sternhold. His undertaking was interrupted by the accession of Mary, which drove him to Geneva. There, much to the benefit of his literary work, he became acquainted with the French versions and with the masterly psalmody of the Swiss musician Bourgeois. The Psalm-tunes, in some cases based upon secular music, in others upon the older church forms, could be sung by all the people. Standardized versification made it possible to sing many Psalms to the same tune, and thus facility for popular use in worship was increased.

With the accession of Elizabeth, in 1558, the English version of the Psalms, with additions that it had received in Geneva, began to be used in connection with the services of the English Church, but was never regarded as having a liturgical character. The Psalms in meter, as sung by the congregation, were optional parts of the service, as are the hymns in the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. Within our limits it is impossible to tell the interesting story of the metrical versions of the Psalms in English, but a specimen, at their best, I quote from the "Old Hundredth," by William Kethe, as it appears in Protestant Hymnals where it is set to the tune by Bourgeois, which all English Protestantism knows as "Old Hundred," in connection with the Long Meter Doxology:

One Hundredth Psalm

All people that on earth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;
Him praise with mirth, his praise forth tell,
Come ye before him and rejoice.

. . . . . .

O enter then his gates with praise,
Approach with joy his courts unto:
Praise, laud, and bless his name always,
For it is seemly so to do.

Doxology

To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
The God whom heaven and earth adore,
From men and from the Angel-host
Be praise and glory evermore.[286]

This majestic piece of translation, though not by Sternhold or Hopkins, may be judged in the light of Wesley's reference to "the scandalous doggerel of Hopkins and Sternhold." By the addition of a number of rhythmic versions of the ancient canticles, the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer (1662), the Psalm Book was put in the way of becoming a hymn book. The substitution of the ancient Plainsong melodies by music in the modern diatonic scale still further advanced the progress of musical praise by the congregation. With the Tractarian movement, nearly two hundred years later, it became the fashion to revive the ancient music. I admit sympathy with Samuel Sebastian Wesley, grandson of Charles Wesley, and in his day probably the greatest organist in England, rather

than the Catholic faddists. Dr. Wesley wrote to a former pupil:

> Your question about Gregorian tones has caused me much pain. I thought I had made a better musician out of you. I am sorry for this. I beg to assure you that I am a musician, a Protestant, and yours truly,
>
> S. S. WESLEY.

Leaving German, French, and English psalmody at this interesting point of development, we skip to the Puritan period during and following the Protectorate. The Puritan hardened his feelings against the appeal of beauty. The Psalms suited both his mood and his theology. In 1660 the Protectorate came to an end, and with the return of Charles II England plunged into an orgy of moral and civil reaction. But to show that Puritanism did not wholly lack the sense of the beautiful in worship a version of the one hundred and thirty-sixth Psalm, by John Milton, may be quoted:

Psalm One Hundred and Thirty-Six

Let us with a gladsome mind
Praise the Lord, for he is kind:
For his mercies aye endure,
Ever faithful, ever sure.

Let us blaze his name abroad,
For of Gods he is the God:
For his mercies aye endure,
Ever faithful, ever sure.[287]

LATER ENGLISH HYMNS

The Restoration period, barren as it was, for the most part, of spiritual fervor, was not without its

fair flowers of devotional song. "The Temple," by George Herbert, proves that there were not wanting survivals of the finest types of English piety, and Bishop Ken's three hymns, for Morning, Evening, and Midnight, are permanent contributions to Protestant devotional song. Like Luther, Ken was a musician and composed melodies for his hymns. The Morning Hymn begins:

> "Awake, my soul, and with the sun
> Thy daily stage of duty run;
> Shake off dull sloth, and early rise
> To pay thy morning sacrifice."

The first stanza of the Evening Hymn is:

> "Glory to Thee, my God, this night,
> For all the blessings of the light;
> Keep me, O keep me, King of kings,
> Beneath the shadow of thy wings." [233]

Both hymns end with the well-known Doxology, "Praise God, from Whom all blessings flow," which in its setting to Bourgeois's long-meter tune is the most influential and most widely-used piece of worship music in the English-speaking world. On October 15, 1884, at two o'clock in the morning, a great crowd stood in front of the Republican headquarters in New York, awaiting the news of an important election. They had just been singing uproariously, "We won't go home till morning," when simultaneously with the message there flashed out the line—

"Praise God, from whom all blessings flow."

A deep-voiced man in the throng pitched "Old Hundred," and the crowds that filled the streets took it up and filled the air with sacred song.[239]

Ken was an ardent Churchman, and was imprisoned by James II for refusing to sign the Act of Indulgence, by which disabilities were lifted from Dissenters. Among these same Dissenters there were writers of hymns of great merit. It is evident from the hymns of the period that the flame of evangelical piety in England had not been extinguished, although pictures of the state of religion and society painted at the time are somber. Isaac Watts was the most remarkable of the Independents of the time who wrote hymns, and no modern hymnal fails to make large demands upon Dr. Watts. Even "Hymns Ancient and Modern," that stronghold of Anglicanism, has four of his hymns. Watts may have been lacking in taste; perhaps what seem his crudities were ostentatious expressions of his theoretical denial of the place of beauty in religion. My own childhood's morals were nurtured on such pabulum from Dr. Watts's "Sacred Songs for Children," as

"Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For 'tis their nature to."

But even in his hymns Watts sometimes wrote wretched doggerel, which in some cases John Wesley undertook to improve. But no one, ancient or

modern, has ever risen higher than the sublimest passages of Watts. I quote almost at random, embarrassed by the wealth of the available material and in despair of fixing relative altitudes when all is so high.

"Jesus, thou everlasting King,
Accept the tribute which we bring;
Accept thy well-deserved renown,
And wear our praises as thy crown." [240]

Or—

"Not all the blood of beasts,
On Jewish altars slain,
Could give the guilty conscience peace
Or wash away its stain.

But Christ, the heavenly Lamb,
Takes all our sins away:
A sacrifice of nobler name,
And richer blood than they.

My faith would lay her hand
On that dear head of thine—
While like a penitent I stand,
And there confess my sin." [241]

Is even the inspired language of the fifty-first Psalm of more comfort to the penitent soul than this?

"A broken heart, my God, my King,
To thee a sacrifice I bring;
The God of grace will ne'er despise
A broken heart for sacrifice." [242]

Belonging to the same period, from Germany emanated influences that endure in English hymnody by means of translations. Through the Mora-

vians, inheritors of the tradition of Huss, and the Pietists, who exercised a powerful influence upon the Wesleys, the hymnody of the Methodist movement was profoundly affected. I have already quoted Sir Henry Baker's translation of P. Gerhardt's German version of Bernard's Latin Hymn, "Salve, caput cruentatum,"[243] and shall presently refer to John Wesley's translations and their effects upon English hymnody.

It is a safe generalization that periods of intense religious interest have always given rise to congenial expressions in musical worship. If it is equally safe to say that the vigor and spiritual reality and poetic beauty of the hymns of a period are proportioned to the depth and power and extent of a revival movement, then we may assert that the hymns of the Wesleyan revival, which followed the works of Watts and Doddridge, are the product of the profoundest, the most powerful, and the most lasting spiritual movement since the days of the Apostles of our Lord. Charles Wesley is eminent among hymn-writers for the immediateness of his spiritual apprehension, his freedom from vulgarities and sensationalism, on the one hand, and from stiffness and pedantry, on the other, his perfect rhythmic sense, his comprehensive knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ever at easy command, his unparalleled fertility, and the simplicity that spoke alike to the heart of the colliers of Kingswood and the littérateurs of his time. Of course the author of six thou-

sand five hundred hymns, during a life of eighty years, must have written a great deal that was redundant. Even in Methodist Hymnals the proportion of Wesley's production has diminished from edition to edition. But at his best Charles Wesley is unsurpassed in any age or country. Even after a hundred years of sifting and the testing of actual use in worship, the Introduction to "Hymns Ancient and Modern" rates the hymns of Charles Wesley as "supreme." Two that embody his genius may be quoted:

"Jesus, Lover of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly
While the gath'ring waters roll,
While the tempest still is high:
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide,
Till the storm of life be past;
Safe into the haven guide,
O receive my soul at last."

The usually omitted third stanza is worthy to accompany the four that form a part of the devotional material of all English-speaking Christians:

"Wilt Thou not regard my call?
Wilt thou not accept my prayer?
Lo! I sink, I faint, I fall!
Lo, on thee I cast my care!
Reach me out thy gracious hand!
While I of thy strength receive,
Hoping against hope I stand,
Dying, and behold I live!"[244]

Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob" is unmatched in

English allegory, and scarcely paralleled in devotional fervor; in the judgment of his illustrious brother, his greatest poem—but rarely suitable for public worship:

> "Come, O Thou Traveler unknown,
> Whom still I hold but cannot see,
> My company before is gone,
> And I am left alone with thee;
> With thee all night I mean to stay,
> And wrestle till the break of day."[245]

We can well understand why, not long after Charles's death, when John Wesley was giving out the lines,

> "My company before is gone,
> And I am left alone with thee,"

the aged minister lost his accustomed self-control and the place became a Bochim.

John Wesley is said to have written and published more than any of his contemporaries. It is therefore not strange that the volume of Charles's hymn production was very far greater than his; but John surpassed his brother and all his contemporaries in making hymns available for popular worship. While in America (1737) he published a book of Psalms and Hymns, and within two years after his return to England, in the beginning of the Methodist revival, he published two others. The distinctive thing about Wesley's hymn books is that they provide appropriate words for the great music of his

day. His own hymns were, for the most part, translations from the German, or adaptations. By a Methodist lecturer, who even touches upon hymnology, the omission of a specimen of John Wesley's sacred poetry might be construed as heresy; however, apart from all other reasons, the great excellence of his work compels recognition. His translation of five stanzas of Gerhard Tersteegen's hymn beginning,

"Verborgner Gottes, Liebe Du,
O Friedensreich so schöne,"

must be classed among the greatest of the hymns of the ages; indeed, it deserves to go along with Charles Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob." It is calm and mystical, and moves in heavenly measure, falling short only of St. John's perception of Divine love. In my humble judgment, the version surpasses the beautiful original. Emerson and Holmes were sitting together when the question was suggested: "What is the supreme hymn?" Emerson replied by quoting this translation. "Yes," said the gentle Autocrat, "that is the supreme hymn."

"Thou hidden Love of God, whose height,
Whose depth unfathomed no man knows;
I see from far thy beauteous light,
Inly I sigh for thy repose;
My heart is pained, nor can it be
At rest, till it finds rest in thee.

Is there a thing beneath the sun
  That strives with thee my heart to share?
Ah, tear it thence, and reign alone,
  The Lord of every motion there!
Then shall my heart from earth be free,
When it hath found repose in thee.

. . . . . .

Each moment draw from earth away
  My heart, that lowly waits thy call;
Speak to my inmost soul, and say,
  'I am thy Love, thy God, thy All.'
To feel thy power, to hear thy voice,
To taste thy love, be all my choice."[246]

From this "supreme hymn" almost anywhither but to Jesus's own words is a descent; nevertheless, I venture to quote in full an original Communion hymn by John Wesley:

The Lord's Table

1 Cor. 10: 21

Author of life divine,
  Who hast a table spread,
Furnish'd with mystic wine
  And everlasting bread,
Preserve the life thyself hast given,
And feed and train us up for heaven.

Our needy souls sustain
  With fresh supplies of love,
Till all thy life we gain,
  And all thy fullness prove,
And, strengthen'd by thy perfect grace,
Behold without a veil thy face.[247]

The author of the valuable Introduction to "Hymns Ancient and Modern" credits John Wesley

with the introduction into English hymnody of the rich treasures of the German chorale and the yet richer resources of German hymns. By means of his first Tune Book, published three years after he acquired the Foundry in Upper Moorfields, he introduced German hymn tunes to English Christians.

Thomas Olivers, with his sublime hymn, "The God of Abram praise"; Perronet, with his "All hail the power of Jesus' Name!" Cennick, with "Children of the heavenly King," are but representatives of Wesley's fellow workers who wrote hymns that cannot be separated from the tradition of the English revival nor from the worship of to-day.

MODERN ENGLISH HYMNS

The fires of the great revival had burned low in the England of the mid-nineteenth century. Immense gains had accrued to religious and social life, and missionary operations had reached into the remote places of the earth. The financial prosperity of the realm and the growth of the churches were accompanied by a certain Laodicean self-satisfaction. Amid such conditions the sacramentarian revival arose in the English Church. It was a true revival of religion, though with a different theological presupposition from that of the Wesleyan movement of almost exactly a hundred years earlier. In the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, John Henry Newman passionately called upon the Church to return to righteousness, as John Wesley had from

the same pulpit a century earlier. Between 1833 and 1841 Newman, Keble, Hurrel Froude, and Isaac Williams produced and published the Tracts for the Times. Newman and his associates, like the Wesleys, were indirectly successful through the influence they set in motion in the English Church, but the submission to Rome by some of these leaders proved of little direct effect. Our interest here is that the movement, like the Wesleyan revival, called forth a new type and volume of worship song. It was intense; its faith was explicit and personal; it was the work of men of rare talent and fine scholarship; but its Center was the conception of the Christ who lives in the Church through the sacraments more especially than in the hearts of faithful men. The incidents of the Gospels, often lost in the mazes of Pauline theology, lived again in the "Christian Year." The religious laxness of the times, such as the Wesleys had subjected to strict discipline in the United Societies, was rebuked by the Tractarians, who formed monastic orders as a means of recovering the life of sainthood. They taught the Church to "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness." Their hymns were a part of that beauty, and they expressed certitude of faith and a vision of the Saviour. Newman's hymn, written nine years before his submission to Rome, always associated with the tune by Dr. J. B. Dykes, is the best known. In commenting on this hymn Cardinal Newman said, "It is not the hymn, but

the tune that has gained popularity! The tune is Dykes's, and Dykes was a great master."

Lux Benigna

Lead, kindly Light, amid th' encircling gloom,
  Lead thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
  Lead thou me on.
Keep thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.[248]

The hymns of F. W. Faber, who followed Newman into the Roman Church in 1845, are a rich contribution to the worship song of all English-speaking Christians. The Methodist Hymnal contains, among others, his Pilgrim Song. It is almost as closely associated with the tune "Pilgrims," by Henry Smart, as is Newman's hymn with Dr. Dykes's "Lux Benigna":

The Pilgrims of the Night

Hark, hark, my soul! angelic songs are swelling
  O'er earth's green fields, and ocean's wave-beat shore;
How sweet the truth those blessèd strains are telling
  Of that new life when sin shall be no more!
Angels of Jesus, angels of light,
Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night.

. . . . . .

Angels, sing on! your faithful watches keeping.
  Sing us sweet fragments of the songs above;
Till morning's joy shall end the night of weeping,
  And life's long shadows break in cloudless love.
Angels of Jesus, angels of light,
Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night.[249]

Like other Catholics, Faber is much influenced by the thought of heaven, which beautifully appears in his almost Medieval hymn:

"O Paradise! O Paradise!
Who doth not crave for rest?
Who would not seek the happy land
Where they that loved are blest;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight?"[250]

Merely to allude to many of Faber's hymns will call up holy associations. I recall that a favorite hymn of the late Bishop Galloway was:

"O it is hard to work for God,
To rise and take his part
Upon this battle field of earth,
And not sometimes lose heart."[251]

Many of us have been stirred by the verses:

"O how the thought of God attracts
And draws the heart from earth,
And sickens it of passing shows
And dissipating mirth.

O utter but the name of God
Down in your heart of hearts,
And see how from the world at once
All tempting light departs!"[252]

From "The Christian Year," by John Keble, one might quote almost at random and touch chords

that vibrate in a Christian's heart. This is one of the best known:

> "Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear,
> It is not night if thou be near:
> O may no earth-born cloud arise
> To hide thee from thy servant's eyes."[253]

Unlike Newman and Faber, Keble remained in the English Church and continued to influence her life from his rural rectory in Hursley.

If in the early post-Reformation period Germany developed the more wonderful era of worship song, the England of the nineteenth century, reawakened by the Catholic movement within the Church, was not less fruitful in the production of hymns modern in form and fitted with tunes of surpassing beauty and artistic purity, by such masters as Henry Smart, the blind organist, Arthur Sullivan, the Rev. J. B. Dykes, Joseph Barnby, Samuel Sebastian Wesley, and W. H. Monk. To be complete the list would have to be a long one. They were men of breadth and genuine piety and were masters of musical composition. Their choir music is as great as that of any period. Most of them were organists and composed from the standpoint of practical musicians. The hymn-writers of the period are hardly better known than the composers, and the names of J. Montgomery, H. F. Lyte, Bishop Reginald Heber, Mrs. Alexander, Frances Ridley Havergal, John Mason Neale—that paragon of

liturgial knowledge and productivity—and the Rev. Sir R. W. Baker, writers of hymns that will live long in the worship of the English-speaking people.

WORSHIP MUSIC IN AMERICA

It is now needful that we turn to America for some interesting distinctives of worship in song. The Church life and worship of America differed little from that of the old countries before and immediately following the Revolution, save as the frontier churches developed appropriate and congenial forms of worship. The Bay State Psalter was worse doggerel than anything in Sternhold and Hopkins, but not essentially different. The revival transplanted from England into the Colonies, driven by zeal for the salvation of souls, moved out into the regions where the pioneer plied his ax, sometimes with loaded rifle by his side. An interesting worship form seems to have been indigenous and survives in what are known as "Spirituals," still sung in Negro churches, but at present more in use as exhibition pieces by Jubilee Singers and their imitators. It is usually taken for granted that these Spirituals are products and exponents of race peculiarities. Dr. E. S. Lorenz contends that they are of cultural, not racial character. At the recent International Missionary Conference Mr. Rodeheaver, within a two-minute lesson, taught a vast audience to sing one of these Spirituals with excellent effect. Dr.

Lorenz says that "the Negroes were simply imitators, even in the minor strains that have been pathetically characterized as the cry of the sorrows of their captivity."[254] The verse, semi-chorus, and the chorus that followed the words of an old hymn or an original song may be indicated in the well-known Jubilee Spiritual—

Verse.
I went over Jordan, what did I see?
Semi-cho.
Coming for to carry me home.
Verse.
The Lord's bright chariot coming for me.
Semi-cho.
Coming for to carry me home.
Chorus.
Swing low, sweet chariot, coming for to carry me home,
Swing low, sweet chariot, coming for to carry me home.[255]

Like the Plainsong chants these spirituals are largely tonal in their musical form. Dr. Lorenz gives some examples of the music, caught by himself as they were sung more than a generation back. There were as many liberties in the singing as in any Gregorian melody, and some of us can remember the despair we experienced of ever getting them as they were sung in brush arbor meetings by the older Methodists. A "Hymn and Tune Book" published by the Methodist Publishing House in about 1880 contains several specimens written in modern musical form, but not with full success. An example is:

"When I was sinking down, O my soul,
Christ laid aside his crown for my soul."[256]

One of the most beautiful of these Spirituals, quoted by Dr. Lorenz with his musical arrangement, is preserved in the Methodist Hymnal:

"O thou in whose presence my soul takes delight,
On whom in affliction I call;
My comfort by day and my song in the night,
My hope, my salvation, my all."[257]

The same careful student and collector says that hundreds of thousands of persons have walked to the mourner's bench while the Church was singing the urgent and almost hypnotic appeal, which was often sung as a chorus to the words of the hymn "Come, ye sinner, poor and needy!"

"I will arise and go to Jesus,
He will embrace me in his arms;
In the arms of my dear Saviour
O there are ten thousand charms."[258]

One of the most important contributions of the Spiritual to our Church psalmody is the old tune to which many congregations still sing the hymn, "How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord," etc. But this also is giving way to the more developed melody of the Portuguese Hymn.[259]

While the pioneer Church life and the camp meeting were developing the Spiritual and witnessing in connection with its use the greatest ingathering of souls since Pentecost, Dr. Lowell Mason of Boston

was bringing American psalmody to its classic period. When his work began he was a bank officer in Savannah, Ga., and followed music only as an avocation. Later his work of composing, arranging, and directing choir and orchestral music engrossed him. Both in its influence upon the Church music of America and in its volume his work surpasses that of all other American musicians. He wrote no hymns, but his hymn tunes have caused more people to sing hymns than those of any other composer. His fertility and his power of adaptation combined with his industry and his spiritual insight to make him the apostle of American psalmody. Ancient Plainsong, popular airs, Spirituals, and his own originality combined to make Mason the originator of a school, in which a number of American composers have wrought excellently.

From the Tractarian revival of Catholicism in England and the rebirth of art in the worship of the English Church, and from the very different strains of American congregational singing, including both the indigenous Spiritual and the almost classical psalmody of Mason, we must move on to the revival period of Moody and Sankey, and others both who preceded and who followed these illustrious winners of souls, whose work was a feature of the religious life of the second half of the nineteenth century. True to our generalization, this period of extraordinary evangelism produced its appropriate and connial forms of worship song. D. L. Moody had no

training in theology and he was a stranger to the processes of the schools. He was a prophet called of God and equipped by the Spirit; a man of extraordinary brain voltage and common sense. Ira D. Sankey, who became associated with Moody in 1870, was a layman and but an amateur in music. He sought out beautiful and appropriate melodies, composed others and adapted yet others, with the immediate purpose of bringing home to the hearts of men the gospel appeal of his friend Moody. The popularity of his "Sacred Songs and Solos" is almost incredible. It is said that, in English and translations, fifty millions of copies have been sold. Moody would never consent to accepting a profit out of the sales of their publications, and for this reason he and Sankey, at last, separated. The aged singer doubtless felt the need of providing against a near-by day of need; Moody's simple and robust faith was for him better than royalties or a bank account.

I shall never wholly lose the deep impression that was made upon me when first I heard Moody and Sankey. Moody preached on "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."[260] At the conclusion Sankey sang "The Ninety and Nine." He had a fine baritone voice and accompanied himself on a reed organ. He subordinated the melody to the words and treated the rhythm as freely as a chant. His vocalization of long syllables was as effective in stirring emotional responses in the hearts of his

hearers as the Spirituals sung by vast congregations under brush arbors, where the light of pine fires threw a lurid glow and fitful shadows upon faces intense with zeal or drawn with inward struggles of hope and fear. He sang—

"There were ninety and nine that safely lay
In the shelter of the fold;
But one was out on the hills away,
Far off from the gates of gold.
Away on the mountain, wild and bare,
Away from the tender shepherd's care.

. . . . . .

But all through the mountains thunder-riven,
And up from the rocky steep,
There rose a cry to the gate of heaven,
Rejoice! I have found my sheep!
And the angels echoed around the throne,
Rejoice, for the Lord brings back his own."[261]

The wonderful voice that was heard by thousands in America, England, and Scotland has long been silent. Sankey's great contribution to worship song was the impetus he gave to a certain modification of the Spiritual, which became known as the Gospel Hymn. Revival meetings in great halls and churches, usually promoted by inter-church groups, superseded the camp meetings and the Gospel Hymns displaced the Spirituals. In their golden period these contributions to musical worship were sound in doctrinal presuppositions, possessing real poetic merit, were popular in their appeal, and the melodies to which they were sung possessed a strange-

ly simple beauty and power of touching the heart. They were sung with real enjoyment by people of all sorts. But, as in the English revival of the eighteenth century, the second generation, to some extent the first, adulterated the Gospel Hymn type, and a flood of doggerel verse, based upon freakish theology, vulgar, sometimes erotic, poured like a flood from a sewer over the face of the Church. The business of producing "gospel songs" became commercialized. Sunday school committees bought the stuff and debauched taste and reverence in the children and youth. Reverence and decency were sacrificed to gain on the part of evangelists and publishers. To this day the evil has not been wholly corrected, though much is being done.

Subsequent abuses must not be allowed to challenge the real merit of the true Gospel Hymn type of worship music; nor can it be denied that these hymns have had a great and beneficent influence upon the life of the American Churches. Nor must it be inferred from what I have said that all publishers of Sunday school and revival songs have participated in the assault upon taste and reverence to which Christians have been exposed. I could mention honorable exceptions among both evangelists and publishers.

In selecting out of many of equal merit and equal popularity the name of a composer and a hymn writer as representative of the period and the class of worship song under review, I would fasten

upon Dr. W. H. Doane, of Boston, for the former and Fanny Crosby (Mrs. Frances J. Van Alstyne) for the latter. Fanny Crosby wrote six thousand hymns. Dr. Doane was an amateur, although a thoroughly trained musician, who made his living by manufacturing wood-working machinery, but lived to glorify God in sacred song. It is necessary only to mention "Safe in the arms of Jesus," "Jesus, keep me near the cross," "Saviour, more than life to me"—all the joint work of Fanny Crosby and Dr. Doane—to awaken holy associations in the minds of multitudes of Christians. They have opened the door for Christ to come into penitent hearts; they have sustained saints in adversity and under temptation. I will conclude my thoughts upon the worship music of this type and time by quoting a hymn by Mrs. E. C. Clepham, the author of "The Ninety and Nine," and sung by Ira D. Sankey. This is a permanent contribution from the Gospel Hymns to both the hymnody and psalmody of the American Churches.

"Beneath the cross of Jesus
I fain would take my stand—
The shadow of a mighty rock
Within a weary land.
A home within the wilderness,
A rest upon the way,
From the burden of the noontide heat
And the burden of the day.

I take, O cross, thy shelter
For my abiding place;

I ask no other sunshine
Than the sunshine of his face.
Content to let the world go by,
To know no gain nor loss—
My sinful self my only shame,
My glory all the cross."[262]

I am quoting a few hymns as representative of types of worship song and do not purpose even to give a sketch of modern hymnody; nevertheless, I cannot conclude this lecture without at least mentioning a few hymns by American authors the loss of which would be a mutilation of our hymn books and a spiritual loss to our worship. In spirituality and poetic feeling they are scarcely surpassed; they have a new-world freshness that is all their own, as well as an old-world beauty. Among them should we not count as first in popularity Ray Palmer's

"My faith looks up to thee,
Thou Lamb of calvary,"[263]

as sung to Dr. Lowell Mason's tune "Olivet"? Dr. S. F. Smith has accomplished the extremely difficult task of making a National hymn—

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing"[264]—

but in

"The morning light is breaking,
The darkness disappears,"[265]

he has sounded a missionary call as powerful as Bishop

Reginald Heber in his great appeal, "From Greenland's icy mountains." In his vesper hymn,

> "Again as evening's shadow falls,
> We gather in these hallowed walls,
> And vesper hymn and vesper prayer
> Rise mingling in the holy air,"[266]

Samuel Longfellow has soothed our spirits, and in his evangelistic appeal he has stirred us:

> "O still in accents sweet and strong,
> Sounds forth the ancient word,
> 'More reapers for white harvest fields,
> More laborers for the Lord.'"[267]

Perhaps we have the acme of submissive faith in Whittier's

> "I bow my forehead in the dust,
> I veil mine eyes in shame,
> And urge, in trembling self-distrust,
> A prayer without a claim."[268]

It is balanced by the present grasp of the living Christ by faith in

> "We may not climb the heavenly steeps
> To bring the Lord Christ down;
> In vain we search the lowest deeps,
> For him no depths can drown."[269]

Oliver Wendell Holmes's

> "O Love divine, that stooped to share
> Our sharpest pang, our bitterest tear!
> On thee we cast each earth-born care;
> We smile at pain while thou art near,"[270]

is classic and goes along with Mrs. Elizabeth Payson Prentiss'

"More love to Thee, O Christ,
More love to thee."[271]

To the Christian year Bishop Phillips Brooks has contributed a hymn that is as tender as the best of an elder period and disputes the place of popularity with the "Adeste, fideles."

"O little town of Bethlehem,
How still we see thee lie!
Beneath thy deep and dreamless sleep
The silent stars go by:
Yet in thy dark streets shineth
The everlasting light:
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee to-night."[272]

A competent critic has said that if Ray Palmer's "My faith looks up to Thee" is the most spiritual of American hymns, Dr. Duffield's

"Stand up, stand up for Jesus,
Ye soldiers of the cross,"[273]

is the most stirring. It has taken the place of the militant hymn that summoned our fathers to the fight for righteousness, "Am I a soldier of the cross?"

Mrs. M. A. Lathbury is as true an exponent of the Chautauqua idea as Fanny Crosby is of the revival; and the music of Mr. W. F. Sherwin fits her poetry as well as Dr. Doane's compositions do the verses of

the blind poet. These two have collaborated to the enrichment of American hymnody of to-day.

> "Break thou the bread of life,
> Dear Lord, to me,
> As thou didst break the bread
> By Galilee,"[274]

appropriates the miracle of the loaves in prayer that the Word may live in our souls; and

> "Day is dying in the west;
> Heaven is touching earth to rest,"[275]

is a vesper hymn that has been sung by many disciples beside the Lake while Jesus again was one in the midst.

"The old is good"; but the new wine of the kingdom found new vessels of worship song in this new land and time that will also sustain the testings of the years.

LECTURE V

THE LITURGY OR HOLY COMMUNION

LECTURE V

THE LITURGY OR HOLY COMMUNION

In our third lecture it was observed that two streams of public worship are to be found running in parallel currents: the one rising in the sacrificial principle as embodied in the ancient Temple worship; the other in the synagogue service as expressive of the impulse of men to pray and praise together. In the Christian institution these two streams are recognized: the sacrificial in the observance of the Lord's Supper, the commemoration, and, according to Catholic doctrine, the repetition, of Jesus's offering of himself to God through the Eternal Spirit; and the service of prayer, praise, and confession, through which the common needs of Christian persons are met by the assembling of themselves together in Jesus's name.

In the worship life of the early Church there was little that was distinctive, except the fraternal meal, or feast of charity, and the memorial sacrament following it. Among Jewish Christians the introduction into the synagogue worship practice of specific Christian elements, except the Eucharist, was slow, and only after the destruction of Jerusalem did the separation from synagogue worship become complete. Among communities of Gentile converts the manner of congregational worship

followed Jewish forms only in so far as was necessary to make place for the public reading of the Scriptures in Greek, including the Apostolic letters, the singing of Christian hymns, prayer, and preaching. As the celebration of the memorial feast was the distinctive service in Christian worship, by eminence, "*the Liturgy*," and as the Liturgy is regarded as possessing sacrificial significance by all Christians, except extreme Zwinglians, let us make our study of this center of worship before taking up the other forms of congregational worship, chiefly the Morning and Evening Services.

Dr. Schaff says: "The Communion Service has undergone many changes in the course of time, but still substantially survives with all its primitive vitality and solemnity in all Churches of Christendom—a perpetual memorial of Christ's atoning sacrifice and saving love to the human race."[276] Dean Stanley speaks of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as "unquestionably the greatest religious ordinance of the world, whether as regards its almost universal adoption in the civilized world, or the passions which it has enkindled, or the opposition which it has evoked."[277]

In the Roman and Greek Churches the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not only the center of worship, but is always present in all worship of the Church. At the celebration of the Mass the most stupendous supernatural transaction conceivable is supposed to take place. It is this that constitutes

the surpassingly solemn and obligatory character of the service. Every Western Catholic is taught to kneel in reverent awe at the elevation of the Host; and at the evening service, without the reënactment of the miracle of transubstantiation, at the Benediction of the blessed Sacrament, the same profound sense of the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ is felt through the association of the place and act with belief in the presence of the Divine-human Lord, localized in the Host. Before the tabernacle, in which the consecrated and transformed elements are reserved, a lamp is always burning and the devout never fail to genuflect. During his Anglican days, Henry Edward Manning, afterwards Cardinal, was standing upon a street in Rome when there passed by a procession in which the sacred Host was borne and in which Pope Pius IX was participating. In veneration of the Sacrament the Anglican Manning prostrated himself. Pius afterwards asked, "Who was that English clergyman?" After Manning's submission he recalled the incident. Whatever the connection, Manning became Archbishop and Cardinal, and during the remainder of the life of Pius IX continued to be the most influential member of the English hierarchy.[279]

In the English Church there seems to be latitude for both Catholicism and Protestantism, although the Reformers of the sixteenth century certainly intended to expunge from the English Liturgy every

last remnant of Roman superstition. Anglicans there are who hold the Roman view of the Sacrament and largely conform with the Roman Liturgy, as better expressing their experience and their view of the mystical elements in the Holy Communion than the reformed order, but who seem to feel no need of the less ambiguous implications and teachings of the entire Catholic system.

In Protestantism there are many and various interpretations of the meaning of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and rites for its celebration vary with more or less constancy. The extreme Protestant position of the Swiss Reformer Zwinglius, in which the Eucharistic feast is regarded merely as a memorial, comes into conflict with Luther's modification of the Catholic belief and practice as indicated in his distinction of "consubstantiation" from "transubstantiation." But Luther removed from the German Mass the superstitious worship of the Host, the reservation of the elements, and the withholding of the cup from the laity. The extremes met in personal encounter when the rugged Saxon, with his Catholic dogmatism and his Scripture literalism, faced the keen Swiss with his flawless logic and his thoroughgoing Protestant consistency. Luther wrote upon the table at which the disputants sat the words "*Hoc est meum corpus*," and from that point he would not budge. Between these two positions, expressed in different rites of observance, and embodied in different ecclesiastical

confessions, are embraced the several Protestant views and Liturgies. But none of these is compatible with a low view of the Sacrament or a careless and irreverent manner of its observance.

Following our general method of historical review of worship practices, let us, first, endeavor to reconstruct the Apostolic usage. For this we must depend mainly upon Paul's account, in First Corinthians, the Acts, and a few fragments from the sub-Apostolic period.

In the beginning such worship as was distinctively Christian consisted of "the breaking of bread" in a fellowship of persons who had accepted Jesus as Lord and acknowledged the teaching of the Apostles as possessing authority, and had made a confession of their faith through the regenerating waters of baptism. This service was called, from its characteristic joyousness and its content of praise and thanksgiving, the Eucharist.

> They did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people.[280]

The evening hour, in memory of the time of institution, was the time of celebration, and the teaching of the Apostles was a part of the observance.[281] The dominant note of praise corresponded with the emphasis of teaching, which was upon the resurrection of Jesus and the gift of the Holy Spirit.[282] The feast was also an expression of

brotherly love, which was symbolized by the kiss of peace. There were ritual acts from the beginning that grew out of the ordinance of Jesus. "This do in remembrance of me." Do what? Give thanks; bless; break the loaf; divide the cup among yourselves. These were the fixed parts of the sacramental service that followed the brotherly meal.[283] Self-examination as a preparation for worthily partaking of the memorial bread and wine was commanded by Paul; and already, less than thirty years after the Ascension, abuses had arisen in connection with the feast of love that prompted Paul to bring about a separation between the brotherly meal, or feast of charity, and the memorial supper.[284]

The sub-apostolic Church had ceased to be Jewish. From the synagogue service the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms had been taken over, and all the New Testament writings were in existence and were rapidly becoming a canon, having equal authority with the Old Testament Scriptures. From several documents we are able to obtain a fairly accurate account of the worship of the primitive Church. I have already quoted in a different connection from the letter of Pliny to the Roman Emperor Trajan embodying the results of his judicial investigations in Bithynia. I reintroduce this valuable document:

> The Christians assemble on an appointed day [Sunday] at sunrise, they sing responsively a song to Christ as God, and then pledge themselves by an oath [sacra-

mentum] not to do any evil work, to commit no theft, robbery, nor adultery, not to break their word, nor sacrifice property entrusted to them. Afterwards [at evening] they assemble again to eat ordinary and innocent food [the feast of charity].[285]

About thirty years later (A.D. 140) Justin Martyr thus describes public worship more particularly as it was conducted at that time:

On Sunday a meeting of all who live in the cities and villages is held, and a selection from the memoirs of the Apostles [the Gospels] and the writings of the Prophets [the Old Testament] is read, as long as time permits. When the reader has finished the president in a discourse gives an exhortation to the imitation of these noble things. After this we all rise in common prayer. At the close of the prayer, as we have before described, bread and wine with water are brought in. The president offers prayer and thanks for them, according to the power given him, and the congregation responds the Amen. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one, and partaken, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of the absent. The wealthy and the willing then give contributions according to their free will, and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want. . . . We assemble in common on Sunday, because this is the first day, on which God created the world and the light, and because Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead and appeared to his disciples.[286]

Coming between the dates of Pliny's letter and Justin's Apology (probably about 120) is the "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*,"[287] the earliest ecclesiastical document we possess, which registers

the transition from the New Testament to ecclesiastical Greek literature and usage, and enables us very well to reconstruct the Eucharistic service of the early Ante-Nicene period.

A Reconstruction of the Liturgy of the Early Ante-Nicene Period

The meeting is on the Lord's Day and the Eucharist is of weekly observance, usually at the evening hour.

Only the baptized are admitted. These mysteries are holy, and the disciples are bidden, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs"—that is, to the heathen.

The Christian brethren who are admitted must be at peace one with another. (Our modern invitation reads: "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbors," and so forth.) The kiss of peace was given in mutual salutation.

1. The Lord's Prayer (as given in Matt. 6: 9–13, with the Doxology) was used in connection with the preceding fasts; probably also as a part of the Eucharistic service. It was early regarded as the essential part of the consecration. The Gospels and the Old Testament were read, somewhat extensively, as one would infer from Justin's Apology just quoted.

2. A sermon was preached by the "President," probably the chief presbyter or bishop. It was based upon the Scriptures read; "for he gives an exhortation to the imitation of those noble things."

3. A prayer followed the sermon, all the congregation standing.

4. Bread and wine and water were brought in—the offering by the congregation, a surviving suggestion of sacrifice.

5. *The Prayer of Thanksgiving.* (It was not yet a fixed form of prayer, but was substantially as follows:)

The Cup. We thank thee, our Father, for the holy wine of David thy servant (John 15: 1), which thou

madest known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be glory forever.

The Broken Bread. We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge thou madest known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory forever. Even as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. (Didache, ix.)

Response by all, "Amen." (Justin. 1 Cor. 14: 16.)

6. The distribution of the consecrated elements to each one, and the partaking of them.

The deacons carry portions to the houses of the absent.

7. In memory of the institution of the Lord's Supper, at this place a Psalm or hymn was probably sung. (Pliny. Matt. 26: 30.)

8. *Post-Communion Thanksgiving.*

We thank thee, Holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou didst cause to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory forever. Thou, Master Almighty, didst create all things for thy name's sake; thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy Servant. Before all things, we thank thee that thou art mighty; to thee be the glory forever. Remember, O Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in thy love and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosannah to the Son of David. (Variation in texts, "Son of God.") If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent. Maranatha. (1 Cor. 16: 22.)

Congregation, "Amen."[288]

Extempore thanksgiving is expressly permitted the prophets.

The "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles" contains considerable extension of the liturgical parts of the "Teachings," but there is wide diversity of opinion concerning its date. It is certainly marred by numerous corruptions of the text. In this connection we need give it no further attention. According to their temperaments and attitudes competent scholars tend to place the early Eastern Liturgies at the beginning of the third century, claiming for their older parts an apostolic origin; or they assign them to a period later than the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 324). However, so vast is the change registered between the time of Justin and the early Nicene Fathers that even one who is not qualified by wide and technical knowledge may venture to believe that a very considerable period, attended by very considerable developments, must have intervened between Apostolic simplicity and the minutiæ and complexity of these early Eastern liturgies. They possess marks of an ecclesiastical tendency to attach ever-increasing significance to the mere doing of things, and sacerdotal eminence is enhanced by the mystery and exclusiveness of the ministry of the priest at the altar.

EASTERN AND WESTERN LITURGIES

Three early Liturgies are given in T. and T. Clark's collection of the Ante-Nicene Fathers:[289]

"The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord"; "The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter"; "The Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles." The "Clementine" is embodied in the "Constitutions of the Apostles." Even a bare analysis of these Liturgies would transgress our limits.

Interest in the Liturgy of James lies in its relation as the parent form to the Liturgy of Chrysostom (VIII. Cy.), which is substantially, with the Liturgy of Basil, in use in the Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic (Greek) Church today. It contains two hundred distinct rubrical directions, concerning prayers, responses, postures, symbolic acts, and words of administration. As used in the Russian Church it contains three hundred and five such items of divine service, and as the worshipers are not provided with seats, we can estimate the devotion of the faithful who remain standing during its two or three hours of service. In all the Liturgies of this class certain distinguishing characters may be observed; also in the Liturgies of the Western families, which for our present purposes may be represented by the Gallican and the Roman. To the comparative simplicity of the Roman Catholic rite, with its one hundred and one separate items, we turn with real relief from the length, complexity, and minutiæ of the Eastern. The Salisbury Cathedral rite varies from the present

Roman use in particulars because it preserves some ancient Anglo-Saxon usages that were never wholly conformed with the Roman use after the mission of Augustine to England under Gregory the Great. Some of the peculiarities of the Salisbury rite are found in the Methodist Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, where they landed after a journey of two and a half centuries through the several English revisals. Among these is the beautiful Collect for Purity.

The heart of all Liturgies is the offering of the Christian sacrifice, of the nature of which there are innumerable theological definitions. The service, in both the Eastern and Western families, has two parts: in Greek, the Pro-Anaphora, in Latin the Ordinarium, or the former and less solemn part; and the Anaphora, or, in the Roman terminology, the Canon of the Mass. There are also certain preparatory prayers for the priest and for his assuming the vestments of the holy ordinance. In the Roman use the beautiful "*Asperges*" precedes the introit, or Psalm, which is sung as the priest, standing at the foot of the altar, recites:

> *V.* I will go in unto the altar of God.
> *R.* Unto God, who giveth joy unto my youth.[290]

In the Eastern Liturgies there is a larger recognition of the doctrines of Creation, Resurrection of Jesus, and the mission of the Holy Spirit than in the Western, but by no means so great a difference as I had supposed before I began to make a comparative

study of them. The emphasis in the Western Liturgies upon the cross and passion of Jesus and the larger proportion of confession is evident to careful study, but the eucharistic, or thanksgiving, element is large and beautifully expressed. In both families there is agreement in the well-defined sacrificial character of the language.[291] "The holy Eucharist is uniformly set forth and used in them as a sacrifice offered up to God for the benefit of all classes of Christians, living and departed. 'Then,' says St. Cyril of Jerusalem, 'after the spiritual sacrifice is perfected, . . . we entreat God for the common peace of the Church; for the tranquillity of the world; for kings; for soldiers and allies; for the sick; for the afflicted; in a word, for all who stand in need of succor we supplicate and offer sacrifice. Then we commemorate those who have fallen asleep before us, first, patriarchs, apostles, prophets, martyrs, that at their prayers God would receive our petition. Afterwards also on behalf of the holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep before us.' Similar petitions are found in all early Liturgies."[291]

In the Pro-Anaphora, or Ordinary of the Mass, the principal features are the reading of the Holy Scriptures and the recitation of the Creed. In the Anaphora, or Canon of the Mass, they are (1) the Triumphal Hymn, or Ter-Sanctus, (2) the formula of Consecration, (3) the Lord's Prayer, and (4) the Communion.[291]

The Eastern Liturgies begin the offering of gifts

early and near the beginning prepare for the Consecration. In the Liturgy of St. James there is a prayer that Jesus himself will bless the gifts, and this is followed by a blessing—

> Because God blesseth and sanctifieth us all at the presentation of the divine and pure mysteries, and giveth rest to the blessed souls among the holy and the just, now and always, and to all eternity.

A little farther along is the prayer that—

> Thou wilt send forth thy good grace, and bless us with every spiritual blessing that cannot be taken away from us;

and a number of prayers that grasp the promise of fulfillment of this petition:

> The Lord will bless us and minister with us all by his grace and loving-kindness. The Lord will bless us and make us worthy to stand at his holy altar at all times, now and always and forever.
>
> Blessed be God, who blesseth and sanctifieth us all in our attendance upon, and service of, his pure mysteries, now and always and forever.[292]

The modern forms of the Liturgy of Chrysostom begin the preparation earlier. Almost immediately following the preparatory prayers the priest takes one of the altar loaves in his left hand and the spear (or implement for cutting it, a memorial of the spear that pierced the side of Jesus) in his right, makes the sign of the cross, and says:

> In remembrance of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ (thrusting the spear into the loaf at the right side

of the seal). He was led as a sheep to the slaughter (thrusting the spear into the left side). And as a spotless lamb before his shearers is dumb, so opened he not his mouth (piercing at the top of the seal). In his humiliation his judgment was taken away (piercing at the bottom). For his generation, who shall declare it? (cutting into the loaf, takes away that part with the seal upon it). For his life is taken away from the earth. . . . Sacrificed is the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, for the life of the world and its salvation.

"One of the soldiers did pierce his side with the spear."

(The warm water is mingled with the wine, while the priest says:) "Blessed be the union of holy things now and ever and to all ages."[293]

Here follows the ceremony of the veil, which is the placing of a veil upon the paten with the holy Bread, which has first been protected by a frame, called the "star cover." The words are said: "And the star came and stood over the place where the young child was." Later a similar ceremony attends the chalice. To this may be traced, through the Anglican rite, the provision in our Communion Service that a fair linen cloth shall cover the table and the unconsumed portions of the elements. After the ceremony of the veil the prayer of oblation is said:

O God, our God, who didst send forth the heavenly word, the nourishment of the whole world, our Lord and God Jesus Christ to be our Saviour and Redeemer and Benefactor, blessing and sanctifying us: Do thou, the same Lord, bless this oblation, and accept it on the most heavenly altar. Call to remembrance those who offer it, and those for whom it is offered, inasmuch as thou art

> good and lovest mankind; and preserve us blameless in the holy ministry of thy divine mysteries.[293]

The Offertory is a feature of all Liturgies. It is a survival of the offerings by the congregation of the elements for the Communion and gifts for the relief of the poor. It is associated with the offering of the elements by the priest. In most churches an anthem is sung at this point. In the Methodist and English use appropriate Scripture sentences are to be said as the Church officers receive the gifts for the poor. In the Roman Ordinary of the Mass the following is the Offertory prayer:

> Accept, O Holy Father Almighty, Everlasting God, this stainless Host, . . . living and true, for mine innumerable sins, offences and negligences, and for all here present; as also for all faithful Christians both living and dead, that it may be profitable for my own and their salvation unto life eternal.[294]

Also after the commingling of wine and water he offers up the chalice, saying:

> We offer unto thee, O Lord, the Chalice of Salvation, blessing thy clemency that, in the sight of thy divine Majesty, it may ascend with the odor of sweetness, for our salvation and for that of the whole world.[294]

Through the extreme sacerdotalism of Rome there still trickles a rill of the community of the sacrifice by priest and people in this bidding:

> Pray, my brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father Almighty.[294]

It is an interesting fact that in practically all Liturgies the dividing line between the Pro-Anaphora and the Anaphora occurs at the *Sursum Corda*. This division occurs in the recension of the English Liturgy made by Wesley for the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. This and most of what preceded it was omitted by the General Conference in 1792. Translated from the source in the Salisbury rite, it is as follows:

V. The Lord be with you.
R. And with thy spirit.
V. Lift up your hearts.
R. We lift them up unto the Lord.
V. Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
R. It is meet and right so to do.[295]

This is followed by the well-known Introduction to the Prefaces, which also followed the stream of the English Reformation into the Wesleyan Liturgy and with the Ter-Sanctus, and remains in our Communion office to-day, but without the five Prefaces that Wesley retained; for these the fathers of 1792 thought they did not need.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

[Here follows the proper preface, that for Christmas Day, for example.]

Because thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as at this time for us, who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man (of the substance of

> the Virgin Mary his mother) and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin.
>
> Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord, most high. Amen.[296]

In the modern Roman rite the first act in the Canon of the Mass is the prayer by the priest that, through Jesus Christ, God will—

> "Accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy and unspotted sacrifices," which are offered for the Holy Catholic Church, the Pope (by name), the Bishop, and all orthodox believers and professors of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.[297]

This prayer is followed by the Commemoration of the living, for whom also the sacrifice is offered, who are declared to be in communion with Mary, the Apostles, and the Fathers, whose merits and prayers are invoked. The further virtue of the oblation is besought for peace, deliverance from eternal damnation, and "that we may be numbered with the elect."

The supreme transaction is approached in the next prayer following in these words:

> Which oblation do Thou, O God, we beseech thee vouchsafe to make in all things blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable: that it may become for us the Body and Blood of thy dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Who, the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and

with his eyes lifted up toward heaven, unto thee, O God, his Almighty Father, giving thanks to thee, did bless, break, and give unto his disciples, saying, "Take and eat ye all of this."

(Secretly) HOC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM.

After adoring the Host, elevating it and replacing it upon the corporal, the priest continues:

In like manner, after supper, taking also the excellent chalice into His holy and venerable hands: and giving thanks to thee, he blessed and gave to his disciples, saying: "Take and drink ye all of it."

HIC EST ENIM CALIX SANGUINIS MEI NOVI ET AETERNI TESTAMENTI: MYSTERIUM FIDEI; QUI PRO VOBIS ET PRO MULTIS EFFUNDETOR IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.

After replacing the chalice upon the corporal, the priest continues:

HAEC QUOTIESCUMQUE FECERITIS IN MEI MEMORIAM FACIETIS.

Further prayers expansive of the idea of the institution are followed by the beautiful prayer that God would

Command these (oblations of bread and wine) to be carried by the hands of the holy angel to thine altar on high, in the presence of thy divine Majesty, that as many of us as shall by partaking at this altar receive the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly grace.

The Commemoration of the Dead follows this prayer, and the Lord's Prayer completes the consecration. The great transaction is believed to have

taken place, the miracle of transubstantiation has been effected, and the priest adores the uncovered chalice thrice, saying, as he thrice strikes his breast,

> Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Grant us thy peace.

The priest's communicating in the bread is preceded by this most fitting prayer:

> I will take the Bread of heaven and will call upon the name of the Lord. Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof; but only say the word and my soul shall be healed.

The words of administration are:

> The Body of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto everlasting life.

Preceding the cup the priest says:

> What shall I render unto the Lord for all the things that he hath rendered unto me? I will take the chalice of salvation and will call upon the name of the Lord. I will call upon the Lord and give praise: and I shall be saved from my enemies.

The words of administration are:

> The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto life everlasting.[298]

Following certain prayers and versets and responses, the main part of the Post-Communion consists of the reading of the first fourteen verses of the first chapter of the Gospel according to John.

A fitting climax to a service in which the faith of the Incarnation as a transaction once for all effected for our salvation is not only central, but all-pervading; in which the new and present experience of Jesus's dwelling among men, in their hearts, certifies the record that "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." In these holy mysteries we may again "behold his glory as in a mirror," and ourselves be transformed by the same Spirit through whose power the Word did become Incarnate and tabernacled among men.

To most of us, who are well used to less elaborate forms of Protestant worship, to whom the doctrinal implications of the Catholic service of the Mass, and to whom, indeed, the hogiolatry and the Mariolatry that are embedded in its Liturgical confessions, are religiously offensive, it will be worth while to inquire what it is that has caused the Catholic service of the Mass to gain and hold its remarkable power over the hearts of multiplied millions of people of all classes, including men of acute and sincere minds, of truly religious feeling, and of vast knowledge. Viewed from the surface, there are both superstitions and contradictions in Greek and Roman Catholic worship. Philosophic subtlety may distinguish between the "substance" of the sacrificial elements, which is transubstantiated, and the "accidents" of bread and wine and water, which remain unchanged, but this is mere logomachy. The question is whether the material elements

are purely instrumental in working grace by the power of the Holy Spirit, or whether they are themselves effectual. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the scholastic theologians, showed the inconsequence of this distinction when he showed that even the flesh of Jesus was the instrument of divine power in the Incarnation. We may ask, Is it not pure idolatry to elevate a cup of wine and water and adore it, uttering at the same time the words, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world"? And yet, in real worship, Christians bow before this mystery, truly "discerning the Body," and experience the cleansing efficacy of the blood of Christ, "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Whatever unreality there may be in the theological formula, the experience is real and the object of faith that is hidden behind the symbol is none other than Jesus Christ.

We cannot escape the logic of the conclusion that when the Host is received, elevated for adoration, reserved, and afterwards, without reconsecration, administered to communicants, it is supposed to have been endued with grace-imparting power, apart from faith on the part of him who receives it. And yet, devout souls in receiving the Sacrament do enjoy an experience that is accurately expressed in a Methodist hymn—

> "My faith looks up to thee,
> Thou Lamb of Calvary,
> Saviour divine.

Now hear me while I pray,
Take all my guilt away,
O let me from this day
Be wholly thine."

Thus with the entire sacramental system: it is a contradiction of our logic, a denial of the testimony of our senses, and a menace to Christian morals. The waters of baptism, so far as sense and reason go, do not regenerate; the laying on of hands in confirmation does not convert the soul; the sentence of absolution in penance does not remove the guilt and penalty of sin; if marriage be not already holy, through the pure love of a Christian man and woman, the pronouncement of a priest does not make it so; if a man is not truly called of God, though the imposition of apostolic hands may make him a priest, it cannot make him a minister of Christ; the anointing with oil may be a rude therapeutic, and indeed may by suggestion strengthen the faith of the sick, but it cannot facilitate the passing of the dying through the great mysterious beyond into the state of the blessed. The famous formula of the Council of Trent, the *Opus operatum*, in fact, does not *work*. And yet, in all states of spiritual need, burdened and sinful men and women find God through sacramental worship.

I think the resolution of the contradiction is this. God in Christ is present to the mind of faith in the worship at the altar. Belief in the great supernatural transaction of the Incarnation is strengthened

by the symbolic objectivisation of the mystery of the gospel of the grace of God. The elements of bread and wine and water remain unchanged, but the Christ, who is conceived of as localized in the midst, is indeed manifest to experience. He is most certainly present according to his promise, where two or three are gathered together in his name. In worship he is apprehended apart from intellectual preconceptions, and thus his sheep hear his voice. By the testimony of their own hearts they know that it is not the voice of a stranger.

The history of the development of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is a long story of theological controversy, extending from Augustine, in the fourth century, to the Council of Trent and the Protestant Confessions in the sixteenth. Even to trace its outline would be beside our subject. This has recently been done with peculiar vigor and learning by Canon Lilly, to whose book, "Sacraments,"[299] I would refer you. But bitter and, for the most part, futile as the controversy has been, I venture to think that it is essentially a record of the efforts of theological thinkers to rationalize the experience that attended the use of the Christian Sacraments in worship. The controversy had a double focus: What constitutes the validity of a sacrament? What is the efficacy of a sacrament? To be attended with such powerful and gracious effects the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper must be at least the vehicle of spiritual grace in a large

measure. Is it more than this? In Augustine everything centers in grace, which is God taking the initiative and thus causing the depraved human will to become free to accept Jesus Christ in the fullness of his salvation. From Augustine's point of view, what the Christian worshiper obtains from, or through, the Sacrament cannot be what he himself brings to it by any other faith than a faith that is called forth on the initiative of the Divine Spirit. On through Paschasius of the ninth century, Thomas Aquinas in the twelfth, to the Reformation of the sixteenth, the controversy flowed in turgid stream, urged always by a felt need of giving an accurate doctrinal account of the ordinance which rested upon the last and kindest word of Jesus, in obedience to which these men had enjoyed the experience of his gracious presence. The Presbyterian Horatius Bonar tries to embody this experience in a hymn—

> "Here, O my Lord, I see thee face to face;
> Here would I touch and handle things unseen;
> Here grasp with firmer hand eternal grace
> And all my weariness upon thee lean."[300]

However remote his theological statement, a seventeenth-century Jesuit writes of an experience that is very like that of the nineteenth-century Presbyterian:

> "Lord Jesus, when by power divine,
> Now hid beneath the outward sign,
> We worship and adore,

Grant when the veil away is rolled,
With open face we may behold
Thyself for evermore."[301]

The Liturgy of the English Reformation[302]

Henry VIII died in 1547. The necessities of his political position inclined him to Protestantism, but he never became a Protestant. The first step following the accession of Edward VI was the addition of an English Communion Service to the Latin Mass, and in 1548 the First Prayer Book of Edward VI was promulgated. It is entitled "The Supper of the Lord, or the Holy Communion, Commonly Called the Mass." The adoration of the Host, the adoration of the Virgin Mary and the saints, were eliminated from the service, although "Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ," and the holy apostles were commemorated. In the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, as well the living as the dead, "who do now rest in the sleep of peace," are commemorated. Reservation of the Sacrament was prohibited and the cup was given to the laity. The Roman custom was to place the wafer upon the tongue of the communicant, "lest taking it into his hand he may in some manner defile or dishonor it." The rubric of 1548 requires that "forasmuch as they (the communicants) many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversly abused it to superstition and wickedness: lest any such thing should be hereafter attempted, it is thought convenient the people

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hereafter receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths at the priest's hands." The Prayer of Consecration still petitions that "these creatures of bread and wine may become to us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ."

The second Prayer Book of Edward VI was a more thorough revision of the Liturgy in the direction of Protestantism. Cranmer was largely influenced by Luther and other German Reformers. Bucer spent some time in England and Melanchthon, though he never visited England, was consulted by letter. The French and Swiss Reformers, even with Calvin's strenuous efforts, exerted no perceptible influence upon the course of Reform in England. New features in the Second Prayer Book are the *General Confession* and the *Absolution*, taken from Archbishop Herrman's "Simple and Religious Consultation." The rubric required that in administering the elements the bread be delivered into the hand of the communicant. In the old York and Hereford Missals the words of administration are: "The body of the Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." In order to obliterate every trace of transubstantiation the Second Prayer Book of Edward gave this new formula: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died

for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." When the revisal of Elizabeth was made, after the renewed outbreak of Roman persecution under Mary, in which Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley perished in flames, the compromising caution of the Virgin Queen became evident in the combination of the formulæ, as in the present English use and in the Methodist inheritance from our English mother Church. The *Gloria in Excelsis* was placed after the Communion instead of early in the service. The Benediction is a Reformation composition.[303]

In the year 1660, after the fires of the great rebellion had died down, with the reëstablishment of the monarchy under Charles II, the English Book of Common Prayer was subjected to a thorough revision by a royal commission consisting of eight bishops. During the Protectorate the Prayer Book had fared as badly as during the bloody reign of Mary a hundred years earlier. The influence of Geneva, which had been rejected at the Reformation, became dominant after the death of Charles I and in the preparation of the "Directory for the Public Worship of God in the Three Kingdoms" established by act of Parliament in 1645, Presbyterian conceptions of worship had displaced the Episcopalian, and the Book of Common Prayer had been taken away. Thereafter a fine of five pounds for the first offense, ten for the second, and one

year's imprisonment without bail, was imposed upon any one who should use the Book of Common Prayer "in any public place of worship, or in any private place or family in the Kingdom." Not to use the Directory subjected a minister to a fine of forty shillings. To do anything "in opposition, derogation or depraving of the book might be punished by a fine of five pounds or fifty at the discretion of the magistrate." The Presbyterians were gentler than the Romanists had been; for they burned nobody, but they were not less intolerant.[304] They could no more than the Episcopalians conceive of more than one form of worship being permitted in the realm; and being fully persuaded that the "Directory" embodied the Scripture rule, without addition, deduction, or adulteration, proceeded to impose it upon all the people of the realm, regardless of their attachment to the Common Prayer and its more perfect congruity with that side of the Reformation doctrine which they had accepted.

The Directory was not a prayer book, but consisted of directions for public worship. The part that interests us at this point is the direction for the administration of the Lord's Supper, which superseded the Liturgy of 1559, the Protestant Prayer Book of Edward VI, as revised under the reign of Elizabeth. It is essentially and almost verbally what is given in the "Government, Discipline, and Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," and is as follows:

The Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated, but how often is to be determined by the ministers and elders of each congregation. A short exhortation follows the morning sermon and prayers. The table is "decently covered and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it." The minister begins "by sanctifying" the bread and wine set before him. The words of institution are read out of the Gospels or 1 Corinthians 11: 23–27. Then prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing is offered to God "to vouchsafe his gracious pleasure and the effectual working of his Spirit in us; and so to sanctify these elements, both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so feed upon him that he may be one with us, and we with him, that he may live in us, and we in him and to him, who hath loved us and given himself for us." The minister then is to take the bread in his hand and say in these or other appropriate expressions, such as, *According to the holy institution, command, and example of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread, and having given thanks I break it and give it to you.* He then communicates, breaks the bread and gives to the communicants with such words as: *Take ye, eat ye. This is the body of Christ which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of him.* In like manner he is to take the cup and say: *According to the institution, command, and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup and give it unto you.* (Giving the cup to the communicants.) *This cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; drink ye all of it.* When all have finished the minister delivers a concluding exhortation and prays.[305]

While these directions cannot be called a liturgy, it is still to be observed that the essentials of consecration and words of institution and administration

are recommended to the minister, if not formally imposed upon him. Actually, in Presbyterian custom uniformity has been effected that varies little more than in the use of a liturgy. A certain austerity guards the service from anything that might invade the sacredness of the occasion. If the less frequent celebration seems to deny the value of the Communion as a means of grace, the weight and importance attaching to its quarterly or annual celebration is in some measure compensative. The Calvinistic principle of discouraging forms and responsive services also has its compensation in the openness that the worshiper is encouraged to maintain to the direct entrance of the Holy Spirit. Here extremes meet: the devout Catholic enjoys the same advantage; for during almost any part of the service, "in a strange tongue," he may, and is encouraged to, withdraw his attention to the spiritual processes of the Holy Ghost, witnessing within to the reality of the mystery that is being symbolized without. In worship the essential thing is the experience of the supernatural, whether with or without forms. The lack of awareness of God or at least of earnest and expectant seeking him, is a denial of worship, whether in the silence of the Friends meetinghouse or in the elaborate ceremonies of the Mass.

The Prayer Book of the Restoration period, embodying over six hundred changes, was approved by act of Parliament and published in February,

1662. The revision was based upon the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, with conscious effort to adhere to its Protestant principles. No subsequent changes of importance have been made. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in 1789, made some changes, but without altering the substance or general character of the Book. Some of these were in the interest of greater refinement of language: for example, substituting for the English in the Te Deum, "Thou didst not abhor the womb of a virgin," the phrase, "Thou didst humble thyself to be born of a virgin." Within the last three years some changes have been made that are of greater significance; and in England the controversy over the "Deposited Book" has revealed differences that indicate the gravity, if not radical nature, of the changes proposed by Convocation and rejected by Parliament.[306]

By reason of their vast numbers, numerous institutions of learning, extensive missionary operations, and still surviving evangelistic zeal, the seven millions of communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Churches in America more largely show influence of the English Liturgy than any other body of Christians in America; although to the Protestant Episcopal Church must be accredited the achievement of preserving this noble monument of Protestant worship in its integrity, and by its spiritual employment, calling upon all Christians to "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness."

The English Liturgy of 1662 was abridged by John Wesley, and under his patriarchal authority as the founder of Methodism was delivered to the Methodist Episcopal Church in America as a manual of worship. In connection with the Sunday Services and the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion, he provided a confession of faith and rituals for the several offices of Baptism, Matrimony, the Burial of the Dead, and the Ordination of Elders and Deacons and the Consecration of Bishops.

Although the Liturgy and Order for Morning and Evening Service and the several Offices have never been regarded as doctrinal standards in Episcopal Methodism, they unquestionably embody important doctrinal teachings. But I am not aware that prior to the General Conference of 1926, by which unordained men were granted the right to administer the Sacraments, any of the numerous changes that have been made in our Ritual have carried the implication of a change in important doctrine. The importance of the Ritual in this respect arises from the tendency to form our doctrinal views, not from the Twenty-Five Articles, but from our forms of worship. The veneration of the Scriptures is kept alive by their public reading in the congregation; the Creed recited in the morning worship incorporates its foundation statements through our approaches to God in worship: The Trinity cannot be a mere theological abstraction so long as we

address our praises to "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." I never hear any preaching upon the atonement, although I am a constant and attentive worshiper in the Church, but the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper keeps alive this sacrificial meaning of the gospel against all humanitarianism. How the solemn teaching of the Ordinals is to be reconciled with its contradiction by a resolution of General Conference, passed with a whoop, I do not know. Consistency is a virtue that will at length prevail.

Through the labors of the Rev. N. B. Harmon, Jr., it has become possible for any one who desires to do so to study the history of the "Rites and Ritual of Episcopal Methodism," and to avail himself of Mr. Harmon's valuable elucidations upon the subject. No finer nor more accurate piece of historical and critical writing has, in my judgment, been produced in Methodism.[307] The limits of this lecture admit of but a bare outline of the Liturgy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. For a wider study of the subject reference is made to Mr. Harmon's work.

The title of the Wesleyan Liturgy, as we shall call it in order to distinguish it from its Anglican source, is

The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper

Every lingering reference to the Mass and every survival of distinctive Romish doctrine had been

expunged from the English Prayer Book of 1662. In his recension for the Methodist Episcopal Church Wesley professed to have preserved the Ritual of the Church of England, with the following exceptions:

> 1. Most of the holy days (so called) are omitted, as at present serving no valuable end.
> 2. The service of the Lord's Day, the length of which has been often complained of, is considerably shortened.
> 3. Some sentences in the Offices for Baptism and the Burial of the Dead are omitted; and
> 4. Many Psalms left out, and many parts of others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian congregation.

In carrying out his purpose of abridgment Wesley omitted long rubrics concerning persons to be admitted to the Communion. Through the class system Methodists were under a discipline that made these unnecessary. He omitted a Collect for the King, as in America there was no such personage, but retained the prayer for Rulers. The Nicene Creed; the giving of notices, publishing banns of marriage, and so forth; directions for placing the elements upon the "table"; three exhortations, with their rubrics, of about 1,380 words (naturally to be complained of because of their length, even in a more deliberate age); and the second Thanksgiving after the Communion were also omitted. The abridgment is considerable, but, excepting the omission of the Nicene Creed, the changes are unimportant. That Wesley should have

omitted this Creed without substituting for it the Apostles' was probably because he assumed that the Morning Service, in which the Apostles' Creed follows the New Testament Lesson, would have been read before the Communion Service was begun. But he evidently intended that the Communion Service should be complete in itself also; for it opens with the Lord's Prayer (repeated after the Communion), which is followed by the Collect for Purity. The Ten Commandments and the Responses take the place of the Old Testament Lesson for the day; the appointed Epistle and Gospel take the place of the New Testament Lesson; and after the Offering for the Poor there is provision for a sermon.

This same hypothesis may explain in part the excision by the mass General Conference of 1792 of large and important parts of the service, most of which belong to that part of the Liturgy which corresponds with the ancient distinction of the Ordinary of the Mass, which is quite apparent in the English Liturgy. Either the Morning Prayer would have been read, or another and simpler service would have been held in connection with the sermon, which was regarded as the essential part of worship under the strong evangelistic motives of the Methodism of the period. In the very different conditions of to-day it is improbable that a like serious impairment of the Communion Service would have been permitted. At present in many

Methodist Churches the Communion Service stands alone without even the sermon, and often when the sermon is preached it is abbreviated to a mere exhortation. These practices indicate the increasing value that our ministers and members attach to the Holy Communion. What has been lost from this supreme ordinance through the extensive omissions of 1792?

The transposition of the Collect for Purity from the beginning of the service (the position it occupied in the ancient Salisbury rite) to a place following the Prayer for Absolution is evangelical. The logical order is, first, Confession; then forgiveness; then sanctification. The Lord's Prayer occurs first in the ancient rite in the preparatory prayers. In the Prayer Book of 1549 it was placed at the beginning of the service, also in its traditional position near the consecration. The fathers of 1792 omitted it at this point, but retained it after the Communion, its present position in the Anglican rite. In 1870 the General Conference placed it between the communication by the ministers and the laity. I see no reason for this. Dr. Summers says that the preachers felt the need of some prayer at this point. At or near the beginning of a service of worship the Lord's Prayer is especially appropriate, for it defines the whole field of prayer and helps faith, inasmuch as it comes in the words of Jesus, furnishing us both matter and words of prayer, and when our feeble faith cannot look up to the mercy seat, in

total renunciation of merit of our own, we may rest in the grace of him who taught us when we pray to say, "Our Father."[308]

The Ten Commandments and the Responses, which came into the Liturgy in 1552, were omitted by the Methodist fathers in 1792. When this feature was introduced oracular confession to the priest had but recently ceased to be obligatory; and the Reformers probably deemed it desirable to preface the reception of the Holy Eucharist by a ritual of the rule of God's Commandments, a synopsis, spiritually regarded, of the whole law by which Christians are bound, and according to which Christians who would communicate worthily should examine themselves. Catechetical instruction has ceased, the Commandments are not read in the Methodist Church service; perhaps from even so low a motive as to keep them from being forgotten it would be seemly to read them before the Communion. The Response is a natural conclusion according to the great evangelic promise[309] that no longer upon tables of stone, but upon fleshly tables that are hearts the holy law shall be written by the Spirit of God. The Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church most beautifully concludes the Commandments with Jesus's summing up of the law.[310] Permission to read the Commandments and Responses before the Communion was granted in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1916. The inclusion of this service in the Hymnal may be

understood by our ministers as an implied permission to use it when they deem it appropriate.

Wesley's omission of the Collect for the King needs not be charged to his pronounced toryism, but the omission by the fathers of 1792 of all prayer for Rulers is less explicable, since such prayer is plainly commanded by Paul.[311] If the Church is duly impressed with the value of intercession, she should restore this prayer that God may—

> so dispose and govern the hearts of the supreme rulers of the United States, our Governors, that in all their thoughts, words, and works, they may ever seek thy honor and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness.

While omitting "most of the holy days (so called)," Wesley retained eleven of them: the four Sundays in Advent, Christmas (or the Nativity of our Lord), the Sunday next before Easter (Palm Sunday), Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, the Sunday after Ascension Day, Whitsunday (or Pentecost), Trinity Sunday (eight weeks after Easter), Epiphany (January 6), Ash Wednesday (or the first day of Lent). For all the Sundays of the year and for the holy days he retained in the Calendar a Collect, an Epistle, and a Gospel, which were to be read following the Commandments and the prayer for Rulers. Mr. Harmon makes short shrift of these intensely devotional and instructive features of the service, especially desirable for the variety they bring to the Liturgy. He says: "The

Collect for the Day need not concern us, nor does the Epistle. All this was stricken out in 1792."[312]

If the Prayer for Rulers was a loss to the service, what shall be said of the deletion by the fathers of 1792 of the Prayer for the Church Militant?

> . . . We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: and grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. . . . Give grace, O Heavenly Father, to all the Ministers of thy gospel, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace; and especially to this congregation here present; that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succor all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.
>
> And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

The Communion service proper begins with the Invitation. The General Confession follows; then the Absolution, followed by the Collect for Purity. Between the Absolution and the Collect used to come the Comfortable Words:

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him: (Matt. 11: 28; John 3: 16).

Hear also what St. Paul saith: (1 Tim. 1: 15).

Hear also what St. John saith: (1 John 2: 1, 2).

Then follows the *Sursum Corda*, found, so far as I know, in all other liturgies:

Elder. Lift up your hearts.
Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.
Elder. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.
Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

The Comfortable Words are well calculated to inspire faith that grasps the promise of God's love in Christ and accepts the forgiveness that has just been asked. The aspiration, "Lift up your hearts," is an appropriate introduction to the heightening privileges of the service.

An Introduction to the Prefaces (of which Wesley retained those for Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday) and the Ter-Sanctus are retained, but the proper Prefaces are eliminated.

The Prayer of Humble Access gives voice to the religious feeling that only as cleansed by the blood of Jesus shall we be fitted to participate in this profoundly spiritual mystery.

The great Prayer of Consecration follows. "It shows, first, the completeness and sufficiency of the one sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, and the divine institution to commend it; second, that we may

receive the inward grace with the outward symbols; third, the words of Institution."[313] Certain manual acts of breaking bread and handling the cup were omitted in 1855.

The Words of Administration are to be spoken by the minister as he delivers, first, the bread, then the wine, into the hands of the communicants. Has it ceased to be significant that by placing the elements in the hands of the laymen the minister is giving them grateful reminder of the blessing of Protestantism, by which the Sacrament is spiritualized and rescued from the semblance of mere magic? Have we forgotten that the words of administration in the beautiful Reformation formula have been restored to us as a token of "the liberty with which Christ has made us free"? When I see a minister silently shoving a plate at a kneeling communicant I think that he has considered neither the duty of obedience to the order of the Church, nor the privilege of his high office. An abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not, is the cafeteria plan of administering the Lord's Supper. It consists of a board in which holes have been bored for the reception of the cups, to which the communicants come and help themselves, after a prayer of consecration has been uttered.

The Thanksgiving after the Communion is significant and important because in it there is a recognition of the character of the sacrifices that

the worshipers offer—praise and thanksgiving and "themselves, their souls and bodies to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice."

The *Gloria in Excelsis* follows with a burst of praise in the words of the angels who announced the birth of Christ. It is a translation of the Latin from the Salisbury rite, and is found near the beginning of most ancient Liturgies. The thrice-repeated entreaty in direct prayer to Christ, the Mediator, whose intercession is still the virtue by which the sins of the world are being taken away, who himself removes all our transgressions, is unique among the prayers of the Communion Service. Nothing is more congruous with the experience of the forgiven sinner, who has just tasted afresh that the Lord is good, than an attitude of utter and complete dependence upon Jesus Christ, our Sin-bearer, who only is "most high in the glory of God the Father." Perhaps we do not need to entreat him to "have mercy upon us"; but we desire thus to express not any unreadiness on his part, but at the height of our blessed experience in him, our deep sense of unworthiness on ours.[314]

The extempore prayer that is permitted after the "Angelic Hymn" is rarely in good taste or to edifying after the intensely spiritual service, rich with the worship of the holy catholic Church.

The service concludes with the Blessing, usually received by the people kneeling.

Though incomplete by reason of the omission of some older parts, the Liturgy of Episcopal Methodism preserves all the essentials of a faithful and truly spiritual Communion Service. Through its use, the "real presence" of Jesus, in his own supreme ordinance, has often been enjoyed as when, on the day of his glorious resurrection, "he was known in the breaking of bread." Its historic character unites those who use it with the historic course of Christian worship throughout the new era, and affords a basis of fellowship in the "communion of saints" with multitudes of others who are accustomed to seek the Lord in the same way.

"Feast after feast thus comes and passes by;
Yet, passing, points to the glad feast above,
Giving sweet foretaste of the festal joy,
The Lamb's great bridal feast of bliss and love."[815]

LECTURE VI
SUNDAY SERVICE AND SERMON

LECTURE VI

SUNDAY SERVICE AND SERMON

HAVING followed the worship stream that flows from the Mass, or Holy Communion, in the preceding lecture, we are now expecting and prepared to follow that which issues from the *Horæ*, or Hours of Prayer. Our sources for the former are the Missals and Communion Services; for the latter the Breviaries and Service Books. In the ritualistic churches we find in the Morning and Evening Services the derivative of the Breviary, also in the worship service that accompanies and is subsidiary to the sermon in the non-ritualistic churches. In this lecture we shall study the Sunday Services, particularly according to Wesley's recension of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. The Sermon, however, has been associated with the Service as a part of worship; not, as sometimes assumed to be, as distinguished from worship.

Stated hours of prayer have always been a needed device for cultivating and protecting the devout life. A generation ago the Student Volunteer Movement invented the term "Morning Watch," and inculcated the duty of holding communion with God each day before talking with men. The practice was no invention of the great Christian leaders who organized a movement for "the evangeliza-

tion of the world in this generation." As far as I know, it has always been, first, a rule dutifully observed by those who would live in the spirit; then, a felt necessity, which there was little disposition to deny, and, at last, an eagerly repeated daily experience. But this rule is for every man in his place of secret prayer. If group prayer, for which of course some formal provision must be made, is to be observed, at least a time and a place for meeting must be arranged, a leader appointed, and some understanding had as to what is to be done in order to achieve the devotional purpose. On the housetop in Joppa Peter might pray as he would until he should fall into a trance;[316] likewise Cornelius at the military headquarters in Cæsarea.[317] But when the Apostles and brethren assembled at stated times for prayer they followed an order differing very little from the service of the ancient synagogue. The substance of some of their corporate Christian prayers has been preserved for us in the Book of the Acts. (It is interesting to note that these prayers are almost precisely in the form of the ancient Collect.) Here is the prayer for guidance in the choice of some one to succeed Judas the fallen Apostle:

> Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these thou hast chosen, that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go to his own place.[318]

After the release of Peter and John from arrest by the Sanhedrin, a prayer of praise was uttered by the company, of which this is the report:

> Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; who by the mouth of David thy servant hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy Child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak the word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy Child Jesus.[212]

Perhaps the best way by which to approach the subject of the Church services of Prayer will be by a rapid survey of the Roman Breviary, the ancient Salisbury form of which is parent to the English Morning and Evening Services, as the Missal is of the Liturgy or Holy Communion. The modern Breviary consists of the services of prayer for the seven Hours of conventual life, with faithful adaptations to the Christian Calendar. There are, as was said in a previous lecture, four stems from which grew the several families of Communion services; there were, likewise, four general types of the Breviary: The Roman, the Gallican, the Mozarabic (or Spanish), and the Anglican. As

the Breviary grew up in the conditions of convent life, it had acquired a far greater number of variations than the service books for the Mass. Every monastic order had its own standards. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) ordered the revision of the Breviary. By the order of several Popes it has had subsequent revisions, one as late as the time of Leo XIII. It has been opened to the use of English readers by a new edition of an excellent translation of many of the hymns by Cardinal Newman, published in 1908. The edition I examined through the courtesy of the Congressional Library consists of four octavo volumes of over nine hundred pages each, a total of over 3,700 pages. An introduction gives 36 pages of minute directions for its use. The immense volume of the work is accounted for by the provision of a special service for each of the seven Hours of prayer, for each of the seven days of the week, with variations as sensitive to the changes of the fasts and feasts and remembrances of the Calendar as the barometer is to the pressure of the atmosphere. The Hours are—Mattins (midnight, or 2, or 5 A.M., or in the Roman Cathedral 7 A.M.); Lauds (3 A.M.); Prime (6 A.M.); Tercé (9 A.M.); Sext (12 NOON); Noné (3 P.M.); Vespers (late in the evening); Compline (as a preparation for sleep).

These services are essentially monastic, but they were also used in England for public services. Their extreme length and frequency, to say noth-

ing of the unknown tongue, precluded their becoming popular. The Roman Breviary service for Sunday begins with the Lord's Prayer, followed by the Hail Mary. Then comes the Apostles' Creed. Then comes a *responsory*, as in the English order for Morning Prayer:

V. O Lord, open thou my lips,
R. And my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
V. O God, make speed to save us. (Psalm 69: 1.)
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,
Both now and ever and to the ages of the ages.

A feature of the service is the large number of beautiful hymns, mostly of universal or truly catholic character. The one introduced thus early in the service for September to March begins:

"Ceaseless praise to thee be given,
O eternal King of heaven."

An invitatory—Let us worship the Lord, for he is our Maker—is followed by Psalm 95 (in the Roman Psalter 94), the familiar *Venite* of the English order for Morning Prayer, in which, as here, it is followed by the *Gloria Patri*. This is followed by a fine hymn of Gregory the Great, commemorating the Sabbath as the beginning of creation:

"To-day the blessed Three in One
Began the earth and skies;
To-day a Conqueror, God the Son,
Did from the grave arise;

We too will wake, and in despite
Of sloth and languor, all unite
As Psalmists did through the dim night
Waiting with wistful eyes."
(Tr. by J. H. Newman.)

Twelve Psalms are read; then the Lord's Prayer is repeated, and this is followed by a prayer of absolution:

Graciously hear, O Lord Jesus Christ, the prayers of thy servants and have mercy upon us; who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, world without end.
Ans. Amen.

Three Lessons from the Holy Scriptures are then read, in each case followed by—

V. But thou, Lord, have mercy upon us.
R. Thanks be to God.

Both in order to save space and to avoid obscuring the close resemblance of this Hour to the English Morning Prayer, I omit several lengthy items. In the service for Lauds, which was often given in continuation with Mattins, occurs the Canticle given as an alternative for the *Te Deum*—

"O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord,
Praise him and magnify him for ever." [320]

The Hours, the days of the week, the four seasons, the fasts and feasts and commemorations of the Calendar are provided with appropriate Scripture readings, beautiful hymns that voice the experience of the spirit in man as he responds to the

Spirit and word of God, prayers, responsories that weave a group into a worshiping unit; endless variety within a unified plan of approach to God and of opening the door of the soul to Christ; so that, attentively and devoutly used, these services could never become stale nor commonplace. The Hours meet the needs of a religious person and for all his moods afford an appropriate channel and preparation for the approach of the Holy Spirit. The elements in the Roman Missals that give offense to Protestants are infrequent and unobtrusive in the Breviary. For example, following the Lord's Prayer the Hail Mary, the concluding lines of which are:

> Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of death.

The Hours of the Breviary are, for the most part, pure, Scriptural services that might be used with profit by any Protestant, had he the leisure.

The Breviary could have grown only in the midst of conditions of monasticism, in which men wholly separated from the responsibilities of secular life devoted themselves to prayer as their business in life, and by communion with God expanded the narrow confines of the monac's cell to the utmost limits of the vision of faith and the kingdom of God, the land of far distances, where reigns the King in his beauty.

Of course life as it was developed in the convent,

regulated by prescribed prayers, and limited by external authority, was conducive to a narrow type of piety; but the convent was also the home of learning, the center of mercy, and the source of a liberal and incessant charity. Worship according to the Breviary is open to grave criticisms, and the monastic life is little adapted to the stern demands upon men and women who to-day would be workers together with God; but if we venture upon adverse criticisms, let us be sure, first, that our own busy lives are saturated with the spirit of prayer and that our days of strenuous endeavor are fertilized by the morning dews of Hermon and that our souls are frequently recuperated by access to God in the secret place, to which our Lord has bidden us to have recourse.

> "Cold mountains and the midnight air
> Witnessed the fervor of his prayer;
> The desert his temptations knew,
> His conflict and his victory too!"

Roman Catholic priests are required to read the daily portions of the Breviary as a spiritual exercise. Perhaps the rule for seculars is lighter than for the religious; but for none of these devoted men is the prayer life a way of soft indulgence; and yet I feel sure that for the devout ritualist the "yoke is easy and the burden light."

The spiritual power of our Protestant ministry is most likely to wane through the neglect of ordered prayer. I would not assume to speak words of re-

proof to brethren; but I may be permitted to say that, in my judgment, the greatest need of the ministry is the regulative and broadening effect of the faithful practice of Scriptural and ritual prayer in our own studies, apart from the deceptive emotional reaction that a minister experiences when vocally leading a congregation in prayer. We may easily be deceived by the afflatus of oratory when preaching—until the sterility of our ministry causes us to examine ourselves, "whether we be in the faith." Are we equally subject to the delusions of Satan concerning our prayer life? No doubt we are. A once brilliant and successful, and later fallen, minister confessed: "My spiritual life began to ravel when I began to neglect the place of secret prayer."

The history of the English Book of Common Prayer has been sufficiently sketched in connection with our study of the Communion Service to afford a background for the study of the Daily Morning and Evening Prayer. The sources are in the ancient services for the Hours or in Reformation additions. An accompanying table gives these in sufficient fullness with the Anglican and the Protestant Episcopal Order, that of John Wesley's abridgment for the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and the survivals in use in modern Episcopal Methodism. (Appendix, pages 256-261.)

We have seen that, after significant eliminations, especially from the earlier parts of the Communion

Service (anciently the "Ordinary") by the Methodist General Conference of 1792, the Liturgy of the English Church continued to be the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper. Not so was it with the Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, which also Wesley sent over in printed sheets for binding, as the Ritual for the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Wesley's recension of the Communion Service was designed to be complete in itself, and his advice was that the Communion be administered wherever possible on every Lord's Day. The value he set upon the Communion as a means of grace is indicated by his own practice. During his long ministry of sixty years he communicated not less than once a week. But in America different conditions obtained, especially because of the absence of ordained ministers, and frequently the Communion could not be administered. Hence the importance of the Morning and Evening Services, which were to be read on Sundays and on Wednesdays and Fridays. No legislation makes it unlawful for a congregation in Episcopal Methodism to use the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. A new order was devised and is now recommended in answer to the Disciplinary question, "What directions are given for uniformity of public worship?" But congregations and ministers that preferred to use the Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer have been at liberty to do so. That this liberty might be used, by order of the

General Conference of 1866 an edition of the Services was published with the Hymn Book under the editorial supervision of Thomas O. Summers.[321] In 1894, under the editorship of the Rev. Charles S. Harrower, an edition was published by the Methodist Episcopal Book Concern in Cincinnati.[322]

In Wesley's Order for Daily Morning Prayer there are eighteen items; in the present order for Episcopal Methodism (omitting the sermon) there are nine required and four optional parts, but these latter are rarely omitted, an indication that Methodists of to-day appreciate a more elaborate service than did their fathers.

The parts of the Daily Services were selected and put together as the result of an actual process of testing in both the conventual life that found its expression in the Breviary and in the effort to meet the needs of popular worship in the vernacular. Both the choice and the sequence of the parts were determined by experience of worship. They are neither arbitrary nor fanciful, like many of the ritualistic crudities that have been invented in recent years, which express only ignorance of the past and poverty of the experience of worship. I will now briefly examine the parts of the Order for Morning Prayer, as given by Wesley. There is nothing so distinctive in the Order for Evening Prayer as to require its separate treatment. The Canticles, Collects, and Lessons are different, but

it is a service of the same kind as that for the Morning, and likewise derived from the Breviary.

The *Sentences* are detached verses of Scripture, which are read at the beginning of the service. They were introduced in the English Prayer Book of 1552 as a preparation for the *General Confession*, and were composed of the Capitula for Lenten services, which consisted of appropriate passages from the Prophets, to which additions were made from the New Testament. Wesley retained ten of these sentences, besides eleven specially appropriate to Holy Days—Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. The permissive suggestion is made by the American editors that "a processional hymn may be sung as the minister and choir enter the church, the congregation rising and joining in the same." The *Sentences* are an effective device for directing the mind of the congregation to an approach to the mercy seat. The worship voice of the Church, entering with holy song of praise, and the inspired words following, read by the minister of Christ, greatly assist in preparing mind and heart for the solemnities of the sanctuary. Certainly something ought to be done to still the babble of small talk that is the only preparation made in many congregations.

The *Exhortation to Confession* is made up largely of the preceding sentences and meets a Reformation condition by directing the attention of the

people to the fact that the abolition of private confession to the priest does not diminish the duty of confession to God, "and although we ought at all times humbly to acknowledge our sins before God, yet ought we chiefly so to do, when we assemble and meet together to render thanks for the great benefits we have received at his hands, to set forth his most worthy praise, to hear his most holy word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary as well for the body as for the soul."[323] In order to avoid undue length Wesley permitted as an alternative this brief bidding: "Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God."

The Confession is to be said by the minister clause by clause; followed by the congregation; somewhat after the manner of primitive "lining out" of the hymn; but the practice, in this country at least, is to recite the Confession in unison.

The *Prayer for Absolution* naturally follows the Confession. "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." In the ancient Salisbury rite, from which the English is taken, the *Absolution* is declarative.[324] In the Reformation service there was placed a statement that Almighty God has given power and commandment to his ministers "to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins." In Wesley's recension only this brief

prayer for forgiveness, following the Confession, is given:

> O Lord, we beseech thee absolve thy people from their offences; that, through thy bountiful goodness, we may be delivered from the bonds of those sins which by our frailty we have committed. Grant this, O Heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our blessed Lord and Saviour.
>
> *Ans.* Amen.[325]

The repetition of the *Lord's Prayer* at this point by the whole congregation registers a Protestant advance over the earlier practice of its repetition by the priest alone secretly. Following the prayer for forgiveness, the forgiven and freshly assured soul immediately enters upon the privilege of a child of God, chief of which is prayer to his Father in the words of Jesus's comprehensive prayer.

The present Methodist practice is at this point utterly illogical, as almost the entire prayer part of the service occurs too near the beginning. It does not afford opportunity for the gradual heightening of the spirit of devotion and incurs the risk of either exceeding appropriate limits of time, or of neglecting important areas in the field of prayer. The Presbyterian "long prayer" is usually comprehensive, but makes too great demands for sustained attention and emotional reaction. Such has been the effect of this illogical order in Methodist Churches that many ministers make no further attempt to move the congregation to prayer, but, following the sermon, dismiss the congregation with a hymn and

the Benediction. Under the system evidently, prayer is a burden to be thrown off as quickly as possible. In a somewhat elaborate service, the Methodist practice offers a minimum of prayer. For most non-ritualistic Protestants the Father's house is not "a house of prayer," but one of oratory and musical art.

The *Versicles* consist of sentences taken from Psalms 51: 15 and 70: 1, said responsively, the congregation still kneeling. Unless it be the *Lord's Prayer*, no part of the service is older than these short, sharp petitions, by which, in their responsive form, the minister and the congregation are wrought into a worshiping unit.

The *Gloria Patri*, which follows the versicles, is likewise uttered in responsive clauses by the minister and the congregation, but while standing, as in a posture appropriate to praise. The *Gloria* is introduced not arbitrarily, nor only, as the Doxology in the Lord's Prayer,[326] as becoming praise following forgiveness, but in accordance with the general principle of concluding a Psalm with the Christian *Gloria*, thus calling attention to the continuity of the Old and the New Covenants and to the fulfillment of the Old in the New.

Alleluiah, "Praise ye the Lord," with the answer, *The Lord's Name be praised*, appears frequently in the English service; it is likely to appear almost anywhere in the Eastern services.

O come, let us sing unto the Lord (*Venite*),[327] has

been sung from very ancient times. It is in the first service for Mattins on Sunday in the Breviary. It is intended to continue and heighten the praise which was begun with the *Doxology* of the *Lord's Prayer*, and continued to ascend through the *Gloria* and the *Alleluiah*. In the interest of brevity, and probably because the portion of Psalms for the day was to follow, Wesley omitted the *Venite*. The English Wesleyans have restored it.

The portion of the Psalms for the day follows the *Venite* when used; otherwise it is read in place of the *Venite*. For days of special observance appropriate Psalms are appointed; or selections may be substituted; otherwise the Psalter is read through in daily portions monthly. The rubric in Dr. Summers's edition is, "Here shall follow the Psalms at the discretion of the minister." According to the present practice in Episcopal Methodism a Psalm is chosen somewhat at random, or in relation to the sermon that is to follow, apparently in many cases for its brevity, and is read antiphonally as a substitute for the Old Testament Lesson. In the ancient Church there were numerous rules for reading the Psalms. The portions in the Breviary are too long for congregational use. Bishop Alexander cites the example of one Cathedral in which it was the use to read through the entire Psalter daily, in the several chapters.

The charm and influence the Psalter has had for worshiping congregations of Christians in all ages

and countries is due to several causes. (1) The Psalms are commended by the custom of our Lord and the ancient heritage from the Synagogue and the Temple. (2) Their poetical and easily translatable form adapts them to the praises of worshiping congregations in all times and lands, speaking whatever language. (3) The Psalms enshrine the worship experience of the spirit in man as he is touched by the Spirit of God in devotion, submission, trust, joy, penitence, trials unto the extreme, and marvelous deliverance. There are no conditions of the devout life that do not find their parallel in those experiences that moved the singers of Israel to pour out their souls in these lyrics. The Psalms sustained the martyrs while they bathed their hands in bickering flame; they have neutralized the lure of worldly success; they have caused the light to break forth out of darkness; they picture the placidity of pastoral life and echo the roar of the hurricane; in them the voice of the Lord is heard as it breaks the cedars and as it whispers confidence to the afflicted and comfort to the bereaved. In the Psalms Jehovah is likened to a Father who pities his children; or a fire goes before him and devours his enemies. He is the King of glory, the Lord strong in battle, who rallies the fearful saints. His voice is the creative agent by which all things consist: of old he laid the foundations of the world; the heavens declare his glory, but they are only his vesture. He moves upon the changes of the

passing time, but his years have no end. He blazes forth in apocalypse, and he breathes his secret in the ear of the man who fears him. His law is perfect, his testimony is pure, his statutes are right, his commandments are just, his fear is clean, his judgments are righteous. (4) The Psalms are saturated with the Spirit of Christ; they anticipate the life of the Church. They provide an adequate and appropriate vehicle for the expression of the truths and the experiences of the Christian Church. (5) For sheer universality and the splendor of their conceptions, coupled with simplicity and the effect of reality, the Psalms command the attention of men. Nowhere else is so great an assemblage of transcendent ideas to be found. Not in the dramatists, poets, and philosophers of the world; not in the preachers and teachers; not in the men of learning and of science; not in the men of government and affairs. The Psalms themselves are the reason and the vindication of their place and influence in Christian worship. It is a sad reflection upon our Protestant haste that we usually limit our use of these lyrics of the soul of Christianity, the Hymnal of our Lord and his Apostles, to a Sunday morning sprinkling instead of an habitual saturation. (6) The Psalms easily become the best-known part of the Bible, save certain parts of the Gospels. "In the early Christian Church the Psalms were so often repeated that the poorest Christians could often say them by heart, and

used to sing them at their labors and in the fields. It is also certain that in the fourth century, if not earlier, they were chanted antiphonally."[328] (7) The Psalms are the literary incarnation of the Word of God.

The *Lessons from the Old and New Testaments* follow the Psalms after the *Gloria Patri.* The testimony to the antiquity of reading from the Scriptures in the worship of the Church is clear. Justin says that the writings of the Prophets and the Apostles were read in the congregations on Sunday. Wesley followed the Anglican use in the reading of a chapter from the Old and one from the New Testament, "showing the harmony between the Law and the Gospel, and the unity of the Church under its two dispensations; the comparative darkness of the older prophetic and typical revelation being made clear by the life of Jesus Christ and the preaching of his Apostles."[329] The greater part of the Old Testament is to be read through yearly in course according to the Anglican use, and the New Testament thrice during the year.[330] In our modern life the daily Morning and Evening Prayer services have become impossible, and the daily portions are often too long for private reading; but the Lessons for Sundays "to be read at Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the year" in the Wesleyan recension constitute a scheme by which an attentive congregation might become fairly well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures of

the Old and New Testaments. The practice in Methodist Episcopal Churches of substituting a Psalm for the Old Testament Lesson and of limiting the New to a short passage illustrative of the sermon, whatever may be claimed for it upon the ground that the congregations read the Bible privately at home and are instructed in its contents in the Sunday school, is certainly at the expense of a high devotional value as a part of public worship. The word of God comes with an authority of its own and induces an attitude of attention and obedience that, to say the least, afford the best condition for hearing the message of the preacher. I have compared the extent of Holy Scripture read in any one of the services of the Roman Breviary with what is usual in Episcopal Methodism, much to the advantage of the former. The Reformation practice is vastly superior to the Breviary, in which the Lessons, though four in number, and in the Salisbury use as many as three to nine, taken from the books of Moses, the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Epistles, are short and give too little connected teaching. But it is not now with the didactic value of the Bible that we are primarily concerned, but with its place in the experience of worship. I do not think that our Church people can make good a claim to the practice of private Bible reading as of superior value to the Lessons read in church. Most of them have little experience of either. In the Church service, "After Confession and Absolu-

tion, which may be called the preparation for worship, and psalmody, we are in a fit disposition to hear what God shall speak to us through his word." The reading is with authority by Christ's minister, and comes with peculiar sanction as God's response to our humble answer to his gracious calling. I must believe that a minister would do well often to recall the solemn moment of his ordination when, after the laying on of hands, the Bishop said as he placed in the newly made deacon's hands a copy of the Holy Bible, "Take thou authority to read the Holy Scriptures in the Church of God and to preach the same."

The *Canticles* are Scripture passages designed to be sung to non-rhythmic music, of which there is a vast amount, consisting of chants both ancient and modern. The ancient chant depends wholly upon the rhythm of the sentence for its accents; modern chants consist of a recitation which merges into rhythmic form at a given point, thus very beautifully combining the two types. Modern composers have succeeded in adapting music of modern form to the canticles with the effect of producing musical and worshipful effects equal to the great oratorios. In many churches anthems selected more or less at random are employed to take the place of the *Canticles*. The anthem is a rendering of Scripture passages to music. It is like the *Canticle*, but with larger variety of form and greater freedom of treatment, allowing for

antiphons, choruses, solos, and various combinations. The value of this freedom is great, but like all freedom it has its perils. It tends to become something apart from the worship service, instead of an integral part of it. It is sometimes made the occasion of mere artistic display with only an æsthetic appeal. Every preacher knows what it is to wrestle with spiritual wickedness of this sort in heavenly places. It has always been a custom of public worship to mingle psalmody with prayer and confession. It has the value of variety in the forms of devotional expression, thus resting the mind while holding attention upon the one Center and Object. But it may be diverting.

The *Te Deum*, which is sung in the English Churches and the Protestant Episcopal between the Old and the New Testament Lessons, though not taken from the Bible, is classed as a *Canticle*. It is an interesting, but improbable, story that this magnificent hymn was improvised in alternate verses by Ambrose and Augustine at the baptism of the latter. It is, first, an act of praise offered to God by us, by all the earth, by the angels and the heavenly powers, by the cherubim and seraphim, who incessantly cry, "Holy, holy, holy." The Apostles, Prophets, and martyrs praise him. It is, second, a confession of faith by the whole Church throughout all the world in God the Father, of an Infinite Majesty; then, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter. It is, third, a more specific

adoration of Jesus Christ, in which recognition is made of the great evangelic facts of the virgin birth, the atoning death, the glorious resurrection, the session at the right hand of God, and the anticipated coming again to judge the earth. It is, fourth, a prayer to Christ (1) for the salvation of all his people, and (2) that we ourselves may be kept from sin in time to come and delivered from the consequences of past sin. It is, all in all, the noblest of Christian praises. Its musical settings offer the supreme achievements of musical praise.

In the Anglican Order the *Benedicite*, an Apocryphal addition to the Greek version of Daniel 3, may be substituted for the *Te Deum*. Its thirty-one verses each ending with the monotonous refrain, "Praise Him and magnify Him forever," do not greatly enrich the service. For the Evening Prayer other Canticles are given.

Following the *Lesson from the New Testament* either the Song of Zacharias, the *Benedictus*,[331] or the *Jubilate Deo*[332] may be sung. In the Evening Prayer the beautiful *Nunc Dimittis* of aged Simeon[333] or the *Deus Misereatur*[334] follow the *New Testament Lesson.*

The *Apostles' Creed* follows the Lessons in logical order as the confession of faith for which preparation has been made through penitence, the experience of forgiveness, and the laying of the rock foundation in the reading of the Scriptures. The Creed, our confession of faith, is singularly inap-

propriate at the beginning of the service as in the Methodist usage. President Harris, a member of the Commission by which the present Methodist order for public worship was prepared, told me that attention was called to this unusual arrangement, but that members of the Commission feared that it would seem too ritualistic to place the *Creed* in its traditional order! In the Sarum Breviary the *Creed* comes in the Third Hour (Prime) following the *Psalms Lessons* and *Canticles*. The clause "He descended into hell" was retained by Wesley both here and in his office for Baptism; but failed to appear in the impression of the Sunday Service of 1786, with which there had been some strange tampering. Mr. Harmon reminds us that its retention in the Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1789) was only after a struggle.[335] Its unaccountable loss from the Creed is serious. Possibly in our ultra-Protestant anxiety to escape the smell of purgatorial fires upon our evangelical garments, we have failed to confess our belief in the Lordship of Jesus in the intermediate world, and have allowed the implication *e silento* of the doctrine of the soul-sleepers, that while the body of Jesus slept in Joseph's tomb in the garden his spirit also was sleeping in the inertia of the grave. Wesley omitted the *Nicene Creed*, which is given in the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal service; but the Wesleyan Church has restored it.

At the recitation of the Creed there is to be ex-

pected a distinct spiritual uplift because Christ has been magnified by those who not only believe in their hearts that God hath raised him from the dead, but also confess with their mouths the Lord Jesus.[336] The Athanasian Creed is recited thrice yearly in the Anglican Church, but is not given in the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Its damnatory clauses and hair-splitting definitions would not have commended it to Wesley, although it had been in use in the English Church since the year 800.

In the Medieval services the *Prayers* come next after the Creed. Christian experience attests the fitness of this order. When faith is strong prayer rises spontaneously and effectively. Here again, Wesley's service, following the Anglican, has a reciprocal *Salutation* by the minister and the people:

Minister. The Lord be with you,
Answer. And with thy spirit.
Minister. Let us pray.

The Kyrie, the thrice-repeated petition to Christ for mercy, is called the Lesser Litany. In Wesley's Sunday Service it is followed by six prayers and responses which are introductory to the prayer service which is to follow, as the *Gloria* and the *Alleluiah* are to the greater Praise.[337]

Minister. Let us pray,
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Answer. Christ, have mercy upon us.
Minister. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Minister. O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us.
Answer. And grant us thy salvation.
Minister. O Lord, save the State.
Answer. And be merciful to us when we call upon thee.
Minister. Endue thy ministers with righteousness.
Answer. And make thy chosen people joyful.
Minister. O Lord, save thy people.
Answer. And bless thine inheritance.
Minister. Give peace in our time, O Lord.
Answer. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.
Minister. O God, make clean our hearts within us.
Answer. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

In this office the great and constant objects of prayer are briefly and fervently uttered. With but minor changes it is taken from the ancient Salisbury rite. With the exception of the last two answers and the last petition, it is all addressed to Christ; an unusual direction of our prayer that will be referred to when we come to a discussion of the Litany, but which it is well to remark at this point.

The *Collects* follow and enlarge upon the Lesser Litany. Under the term *Collect* are classed a number of the finest prayers in the service books of Western Christianity. The term is significant of the fact that in this form of prayer the desires of the whole congregation are taken up and united in the one vocal expression of the minister. The Collect is composed upon a plan almost as fixed as the literary form of a sonnet. Its "characteristics

are (1) an invocation; (2) a reason upon which the petition is to be founded; (3) the petition itself, centrally placed, and always in few words; (4) the benefit hoped for; (5) a memorial of Christ's mediation or an ascription of praise, or both."[338] From the Anglican book Wesley took for the American Methodists the *Collect for the day*, a *Collect for Grace*, and a *Collect for Peace*. For Evening Prayer there was a second *Collect for Peace* and one for *Aid Against Perils*. As the *Collects* for the Sundays and for the special days cover a wide range, an edifying variety is given the services by their use.

In the original Anglican service the Order for Morning Prayer ended at this place, but a part of the Communion, or the Litany, or both were to be added. In Wesley's service when the Communion or a sermon was to follow the service ended after the *Blessing*.[339] Ordinarily prayers followed for *Civil Rulers, for Ministers and People*, a *Prayer for All Conditions of Men*, a *General Thanksgiving*, and a *Prayer of St. Chrysostom*.[340]

As in the Anglican service and the Protestant Episcopal, in Wesley's the minister is at liberty to make use of hymns and authorized prayers at his discretion and the service books contain some excellent selections. But it is a pity that place and permission are not given for extempore or pastoral prayer in connection with the ritualistic service. Often the occasion calls for such prayers. It is impossible that all conditions that make special

prayer appropriate can be foreseen, and sometimes there may be a Spirit-given impulse to pray as the Spirit giveth utterance. Rigid ritualism is incompatible with the spiritual conception of public worship and the Christian minister's privilege of being Divinely guided. It is said that the General Convention of a great ritualistic Church was in session in another city at the time of the great fire in Chicago. A motion prevailed that the body engage in intercessory prayer for the burning city; but, as the Book of Common Prayer contained no prayer for a burning city, the *Litany* was fervently, and very appropriately, said. But, many as are the advantages of free prayer, which early prevailed in American Methodism, I do not doubt that the great inheritance of the English Communion Service, which has always been the Liturgy of Methodism, has wrought for the purifying of worship. The privilege of free prayer, however, should rarely embolden the minister who is to lead the prayers of a Christian congregation to do so without special and very prayerful preparation of both mind and heart. The grooves of habit that we erroneously name "extemporaneous" become more monotonous than ritual and discredit the claim that the prayers that move through them are directed by the Spirit of God.

The Litany

The Litany belongs to a well-marked type of directed and responsive prayer. The term is

generic, including a number of different sequences of short prayers, to which short responses, for all of the same group of petitions, are made by the people. So far as I am acquainted with them, all *Litanies* are introduced by the *Kyrie*, or Lesser Litany.[341] The petitions are usually addressed to Jesus Christ, instead of God the Father through Christ. This, however, though unusual, does not violate the New Testament. While murderous stones were falling upon him Stephen prayed to Jesus as Lord, and Paul thrice besought the Lord that the thorn in his flesh might be taken away. The word *Litany* means supplication. Paul's direction that "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and eucharists (giving thanks) be made for all men," is supposed to be best obeyed in this form of prayer, followed, as it often is by the Lord's Supper, or Eucharist. In the Roman Catholic "Manual of Prayers" are four Litanies—The Litany of the Saints, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, the Litany of the Dying, and the Litany of the Holy Name of Jesus. The first three carry superstition to the point of blasphemy, especially wherein the name of Mary is invoked forty-seven times in ardent prayer. When holy Abel, holy Abraham, holy monks and hermits, and all the "saints of God" are invoked to pray for the dying, the supplications are still on a non-scriptural basis that is hard to reconcile with Christian knowledge. The English *Litany*, as analyzed by Blount, consists of five

parts: (1) Invocations, calling upon God in each of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and upon the Holy Trinity in Unity, each invocation being repeated by the people; (2) Deprecations, or groups of petitions to the Lord for deliverance, to each of which the people respond, "Good Lord, deliver us"; (3) Obsecrations, or groups of petitions made on account of some evangelic fact, expressed or implied, to each of which the people respond, "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord"; (4) groups of intercessions, to which the same response is made; and (5) certain versicles and prayers. The comprehensiveness and devotional fervor of the Litany carry down to our own peaceful times of abundance and ease the agonies of the days and conditions of its origin. In the midst of the awful calamities attending the fall of the ancient empire and the nascence of the new, in "an age gloomy with disaster and superstition, when heathenism was still struggling with Christianity; when Christianity was disfigured by fierce conflicts within the Church; when the Roman Empire was tottering to its ruin; when the last great luminary of the Church—Augustine—had just passed away amidst forebodings of universal destruction; . . . beside the ruins of society attendant on an invasion of barbarians, there came a succession of drought, pestilences, and earthquakes, which seemed to keep pace with the throes of the moral world; amid such conditions bishops and priests led pro-

cessions of highly wrought-up people, pouring out supplications for deliverance from impending disasters, and the multitudes responded with such ardent ejaculations as 'Spare us, good Lord.'"[342] These were the beginnings of the form of prayer that we know as *Litany*.

Conditions have changed, but orderly congregations, kneeling in stately temples, still engage in supplications and intercessions that throb with the tense emotions of an age that is past and the tribulations of a vanished world. The petitions in the English Litany are largely the compositions of later times, but they represent the spirit of the times and the conditions in which their originals arose as the anguished cry of a people whose only hope was in Christ. It is interesting to note that the popularity of this form of prayer is witnessed by its existence in Anglo-Saxon of the eighth century; also as the first part of the Roman service to be put into English by Henry VIII. How comprehensive, how fervent, how faithful it is. I have often wondered whether a modern congregation could feel the depth and force of this service. Even the form of address to Christ points to the suffering that appealed to the human sympathies of the Saviour and pleaded his birth, his temptation, his agony, and all evangelic facts as a ground for asking mercy and deliverance.[343]

Whether or not we moderns can rise to the intensity of the prayer spirit of the Litany or not,

there is a successor in the form of directed prayer by which a well-prepared leader bids the petitions, and silent congregations mentally unite in prayer for the same things. The experience of directed prayer in great gatherings is often that of access into the Holiest place through the blood of Jesus. It fulfills the conditions of the Master's promise, "Where two are agreed upon earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father." In more primitive and spontaneous services, such as were characteristic of the pioneer days in our country, the voluntary *Amen* and ejaculations of approving prayer in a way served the purposes of the Litany both by fusing the congregation into a worshiping unity and by swelling the volume of prayer, helping the faith and fervor of both leader and congregation. That has passed from our worship in these days when stricter views of the propriety of the occasion obtain. If we have not the printed Litany, and if the spontaneous *Amen* has passed out of use, what have we to effect the same worship values?

The Sermon

Sometimes there is, expressed or implied, a contrast between the worship service and the sermon. This is entirely without justification; for all the elements of public worship are found in the preaching of the gospel. The intellectual elements of belief, the spiritual attitudes of faith, and the moral

response of obedience are present in both the act of the preacher and the reaction of the hearers. The sermon cannot be regarded as wholly the production of the preacher. It has a representative quality and the preaching is sensitive to the reception of the message by the congregation. In the Roman or the Greek Church the priest can celebrate Mass when no one but himself is present, without in the least affecting the representative and intercessory character of the sacrifice; but, apart from a literal interpretation of the "foolishness of preaching," a sermon cannot be delivered in an empty church.

A discussion of the Sermon in a lecture on the worship service is fitting in view of the interdependence of the two. In a prayer following the offering of the Host and of the Chalice the Roman Catholic priest says: "Pray, my brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father Almighty." To which the server answers: "May the Lord receive the Sacrifice from thy hands, to the praise and glory of his name, to our benefit, and to that of his holy Church." Likewise in the sermon there should be recognized an equal community of faith, although necessarily the chief responsibility rests with the preacher.

In all forms of Christian worship the sermon has been regarded as a normal accompaniment of the service. In the Roman use it precedes the solemn moment when the Nicene Creed is recited by the

priest; in the Anglican its position is even more prominent; for there it follows the recitation of the Nicene Creed by the priest and the congregation. However other parts of the service may be regarded as developments, the Sermon was of supreme importance from the beginning of the Christian Church and succeeded to the same ordinance of the Synagogue, which was rightly regarded as in the succession of prophetism, the heart of the Old Testament institution. In the synagogue of Nazareth, after the reading of the Law and the Psalms and the offering of the Prayers and the recitation of the Benedictions, the Book of the Prophet Isaiah was handed to Jesus. After reading a passage as a text, he closed the book. "And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened upon him. And he began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth."[344] Here is a picture of missionary work projected by Paul and Barnabas from the pulpit of a synagogue in Pisidian Antioch:

> "They came to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day and sat down. And after the reading of the Law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand, said, Men of Israel and ye that fear God, give audience."
>
> And so followed one of the greatest appeals for faith in Christ that were ever spoken.[345]

Not to be tedious in reciting even the barest outline of the history of preaching, we may again refer to Justin's famous account of Christian worship in the middle of the second century, in which preaching already has its place in the service of the Church. But more important is the generalization that periods of revival have always been periods of great pulpit development and power. So much so, that such periods are characterized also by a tendency to disparage ritual. Let us avoid both extremes and, like the illustrious founder of Methodism, prize the liturgical inheritance of our Church and strive to follow in his steps as he followed Christ and his Apostles in preaching the gospel of the kingdom. There needs be no conflict here. Among American preachers none has surpassed Phillips Brooks in spiritual power and evangelical strength. His ministry was mainly accomplished in connection with the worshipful ritual of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and amid the stately masses of Trinity Church, which itself incorporated in architecture his own sense of spiritual beauties. His great contemporary, Henry Ward Beecher, cared nothing for ritual nor for ecclesiastical architecture. Plymouth Church as fully expressed the genius of Beecher, with its Puritan simplicity, as did Trinity that of Brooks. But, to say the least, Beecher's pulpit prayers were on a par with his wonderful sermons as factors in the life of the many thousands who were spiritually

enriched by his ministry. Sometimes I take up the volume of "Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit," which stands conveniently upon a shelf in my study, but I do not now read the sermonic utterances of the great preacher. Sometimes I take up a volume of Brooks's sermons, but I think of him always as a prophet, not as a priest.

In my own spiritual history the supreme experiences of worship have been when the word of God has been preached, with the power of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, and the things that eye hath not seen nor ear heard did enter into the heart and fructify life and sanctify it. If I may be pardoned these intimacies, I will say, I have all but seen Jesus in the Holy Supper, and it seemed that it was he, not the minister of his Church, who broke the bread and bade his disciples commemorate Him. After all, it is the spiritual experience in worship that is the end of the practice, never the form itself, whether that be in service of prayer and praise, or in the preaching of the cross, which is the power of God to faithful hearers.

APPENDIX

SOURCE	ENGLISH AND PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL, 1662–1789
The ancient offices—*Capitula.*	1. *Sentences from the Scriptures:* "The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him." (Hab. 2: 20.) And other passages from the Old Testament and three from the New Testament.
Composed by a combination of older forms and the preceding sentences. (Reformation.)	4. *Exhortation to Confession of our sins:* "Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us," etc.
A Reformation feature taking the place of private confession.	5. *A General confession by the Whole Congregation (kneeling).*
Taking the place of private absolution by the priest.	6. *Declaration of Absolution by the priest alone, standing, the people still kneeling;* preceded by a statement that God has given to his ministers power to declare absolution to the penitent. The *Amen* at the conclusion of every prayer by the congregation.
Beginning the ancient Hours for Mattins and Evensong. "Ave Maria" omitted.	7. *The Lord's Prayer* (with the Doxology), all the congregation uniting. (1662.)

WESLEY'S SUNDAY SERVICE, 1784	METHODIST EPISCOPAL (SOUTH), 1906
1. *Sentences from the Scriptures:* "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." (Ezek. 18: 27.)	1. *Voluntary*—instrumental or vocal.
And other passages from the Old Testament: and passages from the New Testament: Luke 15: 18, 19; 1 John 1: 8, 9; Phil. 1: 2; besides passages appropriate for *Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday,* and *Trinity Sunday.*	
	2. *Hymn,* sung by the congregation.
	3. *The Apostles' Creed.*
4. *Exhortation to Confession of our sins.*	4. Bidding, "Let us pray.
Abridged; and may be substituted by the sentence, "Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God."	
5. *A General Confession by the Whole Congregation* (kneeling).	5. *Pastoral Prayer (by the Minister alone).*
6. *Prayer for absolution by the* minister.	
The *Amen* by the congregation.	
7. *The Lord's Prayer* (with the Doxology), the congregation uniting.	7. *The Lord's Prayer,* concluding the pastoral prayer, the congregation joining audibly.

SOURCE	1662–1789
Very ancient. Breviary. In some cases the whole Psalm 70 was recited.	8. *Versicles and responses* from Psalms 51: 15 and 70: 1.
Sarum Breviary.	9. *Gloria Patri.*
Breviary.	10. *Praise ye the Lord.*
Breviary.	11. *Venite* (*Psalm 95*).
Breviary; but in different arrangement. Very primitive.	12. *Gloria Patri.* 13. *Psalms for the Day* (followed by the *Gloria* at the end of each Psalm, or of the whole portion read).
Reformation. The old service books provided many lessons, but they were short and did not contemplate reading the entire Bible in course, as in the Reformed service.	14. Lesson from the Old Testament (according to system). (During 50 days lessons from the Apocrypha, but "not for doctrine.")
Sarum Breviary. (Very ancient—probably A.D. 355.)	15. *Te Deum Laudamus.* Alternative, *Benedicite.*
The *Capitula.*	16. *The Second Lesson* (taken out of the New Testament, according to the table).
Ancient Canticles.	17. *Jubilate Deo;* or *Benedictus.*
The Breviary and Missals. In the latter said by the priest secretly.	18. *The Apostles' Creed* or the *Nicene* Creed. (Said by all the people and the priest standing.) (In the English Church the Athanasian Creed is said thrice yearly.)
Denoting in the ancient use the transition from one service to another.	19. *Salutation and Versicles.* "The Lord be with you." *Ans.* "And with thy spirit." *Min.* "Let us pray," etc. (Short prayers and responses.)

1784	1906
8. *Versicles.*	
9. *Gloria Patri.*	
10. *Praise ye the Lord.*	
11. *Venite* (Psalm 95).	11. *Anthem or Voluntary.*
12. *Gloria Patri.*	
13. *Psalms for the Day* (followed by the *Gloria*).	13. *Psalm selected by the minister* (followed by the *Gloria*) or
14. Lesson from the Old Testament (according to system).	14. *Lesson from the Old Testament* (in case the Psalm has not been read: not both, as in Wesley's order). The *Gloria* is to be sung after the Old Testament Lesson, whether from the Psalms or elsewhere.
15. *Te Deum Laudamus.*	
16. *The Second Lesson* (taken out of the New Testament, according to scheme for reading the entire New Testament).	16. *The Second Lesson*, taken out of the New Testament, as the minister may choose.
17. *Benedictus* (Luke 1: 68) or *Jubilate Deo* (Psalm 100).	(Notices followed by collection; during or after which an offertory may be rendered.) *Singing from the Hymnal, the people standing.*
18. *The Apostles' Creed.* Said by all the congregation and the minister standing. (Wesley retained the article: "He descended into hell.")	18. (*The Creed has already been said* near the beginning of the service; before the prayer.)
19. *Salutation and Versicles.* Kyrie Eleison—sentence prayers from Psalms 85: 7; 20: 9; 132: 9; 28: 9; 51: 10; 51: 10, 11.	(The Sermon; which, in the Protestant Episcopal usage, comes after the Blessing.)

SOURCE	1662–1789
The Collects are mostly old and many of them are in use in the Roman Church.	20. *Prayers.* (1) Collect for the Day. (2) Collect for Peace. (3) Collect for Grace.
Revision, 1604.	(4) Prayer for Rulers (in England, King and Royal family; in America, President of the United States and all in civil authority). (5) Clergy and people.
	(6) For all conditions of men. (7) A General Thanksgiving.
Eastern. Brought into the English service in 1661.	(8) A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.
	23. The *Blessing.* (2 Cor. 13: 14.)

1784	1906
20. *Prayers.* (1) Collect for the Day. (2) Collect for Peace. (3) Collect for Grace. (4) Prayer for the President of the United States and all others in civil authority. (5) Prayer for the Ministers and people. (6) Prayer for all conditions of men. (7) A General Thanksgiving. (8) A Prayer of St. Chrysostom. N. B.—Following the Collects the Wesleyan service permits a hymn or anthem and the collection. The congregation rises as the offering is handed the minister with singing or prayer. In such case the remaining prayer or offices follow at the discretion of the minister.	20. *Prayer.* The people kneeling. This in Episcopal Methodism follows the sermon; not, as in the Wesley service, preceding it.
	21. *Singing from the Hymnal.* (The people standing.)
	22. *The Doxology.*
23. *The Blessing.* (2 Cor. 13: 14.)	23. *The Blessing.* (2 Cor. 13: 14.)

Explanation

In the foregoing table no attempt has been made to record numerous minute variations that do not in any way affect the essentials of the worship forms represented. To have noted these would have been to exceed our limits of space, and would have served no good purpose. The first column gives the older sources of the worship practices under review; the second, the ritual of the English and the Protestant Episcopal Order of Daily Morning Prayer, the original of which is to be found in the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI, which is the basis of the present Anglican Book of Common Prayer, which received its final revision in 1664. The Prayer Book, as adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in 1789, shows many variations from the original, but is in substantial agreement therewith. John Wesley's recension of the English Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, made in 1784, is given in the third column. It varies from the original chiefly by way of abridgment and in the reduction of the number of days of special observance, "so-called holy days." The present usage in Episcopal Methodism was adopted in 1906, and though almost a new order of worship, is, as nearly as possible, given in the fourth column for purposes of comparison with the original Methodist Episcopal order. For a similar table of comparisons for the Order for

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, the reader is referred to "The Rites and Ritual of Episcopal Methodism," by the Rev. Nolan B. Harmon, Jr., pages 86 ff. The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward VI can now be had in "Every Man's Library," published by E. P. Dutton & Co.

NOTES

(The numbers refer to superior figures in the text.)

Lecture I

1 Mercer.

2 "The Problem," Emerson.

3 In the Eastern Church the standing posture in prayer is always required; nor is the congregation allowed to sit during the service.

4 "Religion of the Semites," Robertson Smith, p. 3.

5 Gen. 8: 20; 9: 8 ff.

6 2 Sam. 21: 1–9.

7 1 Pet. 1: 11, 12.

8 Mic. 6: 6–8.

9 Isa. 1: 14–17.

Lecture II

10 Gen. 3: 9–19 ff.

11 "The Temple," Edersheim, p. 81.

12 Rom. 2: 27–29.

13 1 John 3: 11, 12.

14 John 19: 12.

15 Gen. 8: 20–22; 9: 12–17.

16 Gen. 13: 3, 4.

17 Gen. 24: 12–14.

18 Gen. 14: 18, 19.

19 Gen. 15: 9–18.

20 Gen. 22: 2 ff.

21 Exod. 5: 1, 17.

22 Ps. 137: 1–4.

23 2 Kings 5: 17.

24 Exod. 12: 2–17.

25 Exod. 18: 12.

26 Bishop Du Bose proposes an interesting theory to the effect that the Southern Midianites were a remnant of Israel that did not accompany Jacob in the migration to Egypt.

27 Eccles. 12: 13, 14.

28 Exod. 20: 24–chap. 23.

29 Exod. 24: 5–8.

30 Ps. 89: 26.

31 Hos. 11: 1.

32 Isa. 63: 16.

33 Rom. 8: 15.

34 Exod. 24: 9–11.

35 Matt. 4: 8–11. False worship was one of the three temptations.

36 Ps. 51: 1–4.

37 Ps. 51: 16, 17.

38 "The Temple," Edersheim, p. 81.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 9. Isa. 1: 11; Mic. 6: 6 ff.

40 Heb. 10: 4–9.

41 Heb. 7: 18, 19.

42 Job 23: 3.

43 Heb. 10: 19.

44 Mal. 3: 1.

45 Luke 1: 62–69.

46 Luke 1: 46–55.

47 Luke 2: 29–33.
48 Acts 8: 32–34.
49 "The Modern Use of the Bible," H. E. Fosdick.
50 Matt. 8: 4.
51 Heb. 1: 1, 2.
52 "Christian Institutions," A. P. Stanley.
53 Isaac Watts.
54 Ps. 141: 2.
55 Ps. 50: 14.
56 Ps. 51: 17.
57 Heb. 13: 15.
58 Hos. 6: 6.
59 Mic. 6: 8.
60 Heb. 13: 16.
61 Phil. 4: 18.
62 Ps. 40: 6–8; Heb. 10: 5–9.
63 Rom. 12: 1.
64 Eph. 5: 2.
65 Heb. 9: 11–14.
66 Heb. 9: 28; 10: 14.
67 Heb. 13: 10–15.
68 Compare the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church, both here and in the Oblation following Consecration.
69 Administration of the Lord's Supper; Methodist use.
70 *Ibid.*
71 Luke 22: 19; 1 Cor. 11: 24.

LECTURE III

72 Gen. 4: 26.
73 John 4: 21–24.
74 Rev. 21: 22.
75 Hos. 12: 13.
76 Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, "The Origin of the Synagogue and the Church." The origin of the Synagogue attributed to the Captivity.
77 Isa. 56: 7.
78 J. E McFadyen, "The Prayers of the Bible."
79 Rom. 9: 14–29; 10: 19–21; Mal. 1: 1–3.
80 Exod. 34: 6, 7.
81 Exod. 10: 1; Rom. 9: 17, 18.
82 Judges 16: 28–31.
83 Neh. 4: 4, 5.
84 Acts 7: 60.
85 Luther's Table Talk.
86 Ps. 11: 4.
87 Ps. 104: 2.
88 Ps. 8: 1–4.
89 2 Chron. 6: 18.
90 Ps. 19: 12, 13.
91 Joshua 7: 24–26.
92 1 Sam. 15: 32, 33.
93 Num. 10: 35, 36.
94 Num. 6: 24–26.
95 Luke 1: 21.
96 Acts 3: 1.
97 Ps. 41: 72, 89, 106.
98 Ps. 150.
99 Luke 11: 1.
100 Matt. 6: 9–13.
101 1 Sam. 2: 1–10.
102 1 Sam. 1: 17.
103 Ps. 73: 15–18.
104 1 Kings 8: 12–21, 22–61.

105 Isa. 63: 7–19.
106 Dan. 9: 4–19.
107 Ezra 7: 27, 28.
108 Ezra 9: 5–15.
109 Neh. 1: 5–11.
110 Jonah 2: 1–9.
111 Ps. 40: 6–8. Cf. Heb. 10: 5–7.
112 Ps. 22: 1, 24–31.
113 1 John 1: 1–3.
114 Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," I, p. 437.
115 *Ibid.*, 431.
116 Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," I, pp. 439 ff.
117 Deut. 6: 4 (Shema).
118 Edersheim, "Life and Times," p. 442.
119 Luke 4: 16–19.
120 John 14: 13, 14; Col. 3: 17.
121 John 17.
122 Jas. 5: 16.
123 Matt. 5: 44.
124 Matt. 11: 25 26; Luke 10: 21.
125 John 11: 41, 42.
126 John 12: 27, 28.
127 Matt. 26: 39–42; Mark 14: 36; Luke 22: 42, 43.
128 Luke 23: 34; Matt. 27: 46; Mark 15: 34. Cf. Ps. 22: 1; Luke 23: 46. Cf. Ps. 31: 5.
129 John 20: 30, 31.
130 Matt. 7: 11.
131 Luke 18: 9–14.
132 Luke 23: 42.
133 John 14: 14; 16: 23.
134 Acts 1: 24–26.
135 Joel 2: 32; Acts 2: 21.
136 Acts 2: 42.
137 Acts 4: 24–31.
138 Acts 6: 4.
139 Acts 6: 6.
140 Acts 7: 60.
141 Acts 8: 15.
142 Acts 9: 11.
143 Acts 9: 40.
144 Acts 10: 29.
145 Acts 12: 5–10.
146 Acts 13: 1–3.
147 Acts 13: 45–47.
148 Acts 15: 6–29.
149 Acts 11: 25, 26.
150 Acts 16: 6–10.
151 Acts 16: 25–27.
152 Acts 20: 36.
153 Acts 21: 5.
154 Acts 22: 17–21.
155 Acts 27: 23–25.
156 Acts 27: 35.
157 Eph. 3: 16–21.
158 Rom. 16: 14–17; 1 Cor. 1: 3; 16: 23, 24; 2 Cor. 1: 24; 13: 14; Gal. 1: 3–5; Eph. 1: 2–6; 6: 23, 24; Phil. 1: 2; 4: 20–23; Col. 1: 3–8; 1 Thess. 5: 28; 2 Thess. 1: 2; 3: 18; 2 Tim. 4: 22.
159 Rom. 11; 33–36.
160 Heb. 13: 18.
161 Heb. 13: 20, 21
162 Jude 25.
163 1 Pet. 1: 3–9; 5: 14; 2 Pet. 1: 2; Jude 2, 24, 25.
164 Rev. 1: 3.

165 Rev. 1: 4–6.
166 Rev. 4: 8.
167 Rev. 4: 11.
168 Rev. 6: 10.
169 Rev. 7: 10–12.
170 Rev. 11: 16, 17.
171 Rev. 15: 3, 4.
172 Rev. 19: 1–8.
173 Rev. 22: 20.

LECTURE IV

174 Eph. 5: 19.

175 "Religion and Art," Vogt, p. 174. "Music and Morals," Haweis.

176 "Dedication of the Palace of Art," Tennyson.

177 2 Sam. 1: 18–27.

178 George Adam Smith, who translates instead of "Use of the Bow" (v. 18), "The Use of Adversity."

179 Ps. 23.

180 Ps. 73: 1, 2, 10, 11.

181 Ps. 51: 1.

182 Ps. 32: 1, 2.

183 Pss. 113–118.

184 Ps. 22: 1.

185 Ps. 31: 5.

186 "The Book of Psalms," T. K. Cheyne.

187 "The Songs, Hymns, and Prayers of the Old Testament," Charles Foster Kent, pp. 9, 10.

188 Psalmos = Mazmur.

189 Cheyne, p. xi. See above, 186.

190 *Ibid.*, xii.

191 Ps. 107: 1, 15, etc.

192 See the striking title of Bishop Alexander's Bampton Lectures: "The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity."

193 In "The Temple," p. 143, Dr. Edersheim gives a list of the Temple Psalms.

194 Ps. 42: 5.

195 Ps. 11: 4.

196 Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York.

197 Ps. 15.

198 2 Sam. 22: 1–51.

199 Ps. 18: 1, 50.

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